Martin L. West
Old Avestan Syntax and Stylistics
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With an edition of the texts

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

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

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

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

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

M. L. West
January 2011
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I. The Structure of Discourse

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sentence and Clause in Old Avestan

6. Sentences in Old Avestan, especially in the Gāthās, show great variation in their extension, from nuclear brevity to protracted utterances of considerable syntactic density. The shortest sentences are mostly answers to questions, where the question sets up the syntactic frame into which the answer fits: 43. 7–8 “ciš ahī?” … “Zaraďuštrō”, ‘who art thou?—Zarathushtra’; 43. 9 “kahmāă viuīduūiē vaśī?” … “ťbahmāă ābrē”, ‘whom dost thou wish to serve?—Thy fire’; 51. 22 yehīă môăi … vahištem yesnē paitū, vaēdā: Mazdā Ahurō, ‘I know in whose worship my best (interest lies): (it is) Mazdā the Lord’.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  & at \ \theta\bar{b}â, \text{mônghâ} \text{ taxmecâ spntem}, \text{Mzdâ}, \\
  & hiiat \ t\ â \ zastâ, \ yâ \ t\ ha\ñ\ñi \ awuâ \\
  & yâ \ dâ \ âsîš \ drguuâîtë \ âsânaecâ . . . \\
  & hiiat \ môi \ vanj\ñu\ñi \ hâzâ \ jima\ñt \ manajhô.
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

Verbal and Nominal Predication

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

Examples of nominal main clauses: 28. 9 yûzhôm sauuištîâghô; išô xšårêmecâ sauânağham, ‘ye (are) the promptest ones; (your) powers and domain

2 Reichelt §715.

3 The primary meaning of ah- was not ‘be (the same as)’ but something like ‘be there, be available, be palpably present’; cf. Delbrück iii. 12–14. It retains this sense in passages such as 29. 5 â hnuâ, 9 aghaṭ; 31. 16 aghaṭ; 43. 16 xiïâ; 50. 7 xiïaṭa. In YH 35. 6 aḅa . . .
yâba ḯ asti means ‘so, just as it (actually) is’ (as opposed to how it might be misrepresented); it is more than a simple copula. In 27. 14, ašâm vohû vahištâm asti, uštâ asti, it should perhaps be given a more emphatic translation than simply ‘is’.
I. The Structure of Discourse

Examples of nominal relative clauses:

28. 2 ahwa, astuwatasca hia†c manajh, 'both existences, the material one and (the one) that (is) of thought'; 31. 5 vohu manajh ... yehii mā orsiš, 'with Good Thought, the one whose prophet (I am)'; 31. 7 tā ... mainiiuxsiū, yē ā nūrmciū ... hāmō, 'through that will ... thou dost increase, which even now (is) the same', or perhaps 'who (art) the same'; 31. 12 yaārā maeβā, 'where (there is) uncertainty'; 31. 13 yā frāsā ānušiī 'the question that (is) overt'; 31. 21 yō hōi mainiiū šīaōnāišcā uruaβō, '(to him) who (is) his ally in will and deeds'; 31. 16 xšaiāq ... yehii mā aiišciū duuaβā, 'in control of (that) whose danger (is) a threat'; 33. 3 yē ašāmē vahitiš, 'he who (is) best to the righteous one'; 33. 6 yō zaotā ašā orzuš, vuu ... kaiiā, 'I who (am) a straight minister in accord with Right, desire'; 33. 11 yō sausišto Ahurō, 'thou who (art) the strongest Lord'; 34. 13 mīzdom, Mazdā, yehiī tu daβrom, 'the reward, Mazdā, of which thou (art) the gift'; 44. 5 kō yā ušā arēm,pīβā xšapācā, 'who (is it) through whom (there are) morning, noon, eve?'

Nominal conditional clauses occur in three places: 31. 2 yezi āiš nōtir uruuiānē aduā aibī,daβistā vāxiī, 'if through these (words) the better way (is) not in plain view to the soul'; 32. 6 pourū aēnā onāxštā yāiš srauuihiitū, yezī tāiš aβā, 'the many offences against peace by which he seeks renown, if by them (he is doing) so'; 44. 6 yā frauuišxiiyezi tā aβā haiiīa, 'if the things I am about to say (are) true thus'.

Interrogative sentences

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

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

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5 Reichelt §§722–4.
texts, in the absence of one of the above question-markers, we cannot identify them by any formal feature such as word order. In two passages they are indicated by accompanying references to questioning: 29. 5 hiiaț Mazdām duuaidī frasābītiō: ‘nōiț arațajiiō frajīaitiț, nōiț fsuiiiețe draguuașii pairi?’ ‘as we set Mazdā to our questions: “Is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stock-raiser, among the wrongful?”’; 44. 10 taṭ ñbāa paressā, araș mōi vaocā, Ahurā: tam daênam, … ārmatōiū uxōāiš šiiadōnā araș daidiīaț? ‘This I ask thee, tell me straight, Lord: that religion, … do they with pious words and deed have a true conception of it?’

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

Examples of interrogative nominal sentences: 29. 2 kaṭā tōi gauuoī ratuș, hiiaț him dāṭā xšaiiāntō? ‘how (was) thy ruling for the cow, when ye powers put her here?’; 29. 5, see above; 29. 7 kas.tē, vohū manāpāhā yō …? ‘whom hast thou, who by good thought …?’; 29. 11 kudā aṣom vohucā manō xšaðrmcaț? ‘where (are) Right and Good Thought and Dominion?’; 34. 5 kaṭ vā xšaðrm, kā ištīiś? ‘what (is) your power, what your ability?’, cf. 48. 8, 49. 12; 44. 3 kas.nā zābā ptā Aṣahiīa paouruiiō? … kō yā mā uxšieieīīi neřasaiī ñbataț? ‘who (was) the father-begetter of Right in the beginning? … Who (is it), through whom the moon waxes or wanes?’

Negation

10. The regular particle of negation in the Gāthās is nōiț. In YH we find only naē (once): 35. 2 naē naēstārô yađoṇā vohuṇām mahī, ‘we are not revilers of what is good’. In the Gāthās this appears only in naē.ciś, naē.cīt, ‘no one’, ‘nothing’.

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

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

The same form of negation is used with participles, as 28. 3 ayžaon-uuamnom ‘unimpaired’; 31. 12 and 17 awūduuā ‘unknowing’; 31. 15 adrujiiaițō ‘innocent’; YH 35. 4 asrunuutascā … axšaiiaṭascā ‘not hearing, not having
authority’. And with *nomina actionis* in -ti-: 30. 11 ḍneiti ‘through failure’; 34. 9 evuisīti ‘through non-acquisition’.

12. *nōīt* may negate a whole sentence or clause, or a single word within it. When it negates a single word, that word generally contains a verbal element, as in 29. 3 ahmāi Aṣā, *nōīt* sarōjā ... paītī. maṛauṭ, ‘to him Right, not a union-breacher, will answer’; 49. 4 yaesaṃ *nōīt* huuarstaśī vṛṣ duṣyuvarṣā, ‘through whose not doing-good-deeds the ill deeds prevail’; apparently 46. 6 yas. tāṃ *nōīt* nā isamno ā (i)yāt, ‘the man who comes to him unwanted’, though if this is the correct analysis it is an exception to the principle that participles are negated by *a*-

In a nominal sentence *nōīt* may be equivalent to ‘there is not’: 29. 1 *nōīt* mōī xsmāt anīiō, ‘I have no pastor other than you’; 29. 3 auuaesaṃ *nōīt* viduiiē, ‘of those things (there is) no knowing’; 29. 6 *nōīt* aeuāa ṛhū vistō naedā ruṭuś aṣācīt hacā, ‘indeed no patron has been found, nor a ruling in line with Right’. Similarly in a question: 29. 5, quoted in §9.

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

13. If it is a whole main clause that is negated, the negative particle regularly stands in initial position, unless preceded by a demonstrative adjective or pronoun (with any subjoined enclitic), as in 28. 9 anāiś vā *nōīt* … yānāiś zaranae- mā, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you’; 29. 3 auuaesaṃ *nōīt* viduiiē, ‘of those things there is no knowing’; 30. 6 aiiā *nōīt* araś viśitāt daēuacina, ‘between those two even the Daevas do not rightly discriminate’. In 32. 7 the demonstrative is accompanied by its noun: aeṣam aenajḥam naecīt viduaa aojoi, ‘of those offences I declare that I know nothing’.

The same rule applies to subordinate clauses, where the negative normally follows the relative pronoun or other connective: 31.15 yō *nōīt* jiōtōm hanar vinastī vāstrieihiīa aenajho, ‘who cannot find a livelihood without wronging the herdsman’; 31. 5; 34. 8; after relative + enclitic, 51. 6 yō hōi *nōīt* vidaii, ‘who will not serve him’. In 44. 13 the relative pronoun has an adjectival phrase appended to it before the negative: yōi asruštois panaṇāpho *nōīt* āṣahiiā ādiuuiieinū hacānā, ‘who, being full of non-compliance, do not strive for the companionship of Right’. Demonstrative intervening before the negative: 31. 2, quoted in §8; demonstrative + enclitic, 45. 3 yōi īm vō *nōīt* iḍā maṛram varaśeṇṭi, ‘those of you who do not so act on this prescript’.

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

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

Concord

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

15. Neuter plural subjects take a singular verb, reflecting the original nature of the neuter plural as a collective: 29. 4 saxvārō ... yā zī vānuerzōi pairī cibīt ... yācā varaśaitē aipī cibīt, ‘initiatives ... those that have been taken in the past and those that may be taken hereafter’; 31. 14 tā ḍbā parasā, ... yā zī ā <aē>iṭā jāṅhaticā, ‘I ask thee about those things that are approaching and will come’; 32. 7 aēsām aēnāį̄hām ... yā jōiīā sōnghaitē, ‘of those offenses which are decreed to be matters of life’; 49. 4 yaēśam nōiṭ huaarštāiś vās duţuvarštā, ‘through whose not doing-good-deeds the ill deeds prevail’; 50. 10 yācā vohū caśmān aroach manāį̄hā, ‘and those things that have a claim on the eyes in accord with good thought’.

16. A singular verb may also be found where two or more non-neuter subjects are conceived as a unitary group: 29. 1 ā mā aēśamō hazaścā remō hiśaiā deraś tawuišcā, ‘fury and force, cruelty, violence, and aggression hold me bound’; 44. 20 yāiś gām Karapā Usīxšcā aēśmāi dātā, ‘with whom the Karpan and the Usīj put the cow to violence’. So in 32. 15 we have anāiś ā vījnēnāś yā Karpōtāscā Kauuiṭāscā, ‘by these activities the Karpanhood and the Kavihood have lost their way’; but in the succeeding sentence they are referred to with a plural verb (as they stand for a multiplicity of priests), and then with a dual pronoun: auuāiś aibī yōṅg daintū, ... tōi ābiīa bairiīiāntē, ‘those whom they implicate in them will be borne away from them both.’

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

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1 Cf. Delbrück iii. 229–54; Brugmann (1925), 148–86; Reichelt §§602–8.
3 Cf. RV 1. 32. 13; Schwyzer–Debrunner 612.
18. There may be imperfect concord between a subject and something with which it is equated, as in 32. 3 at yūṣ daeuvā vispāγhō Akāṭ Manajhō stā cīrōm, ‘but you Daevas are all spawn from Evil Thought’; 32. 10 yō acīstam vaēnajhē aogēdā gam asībiā huaracgi, ‘who declares that the worst thing (neut.) to behold with the eyes is the cow (fem.) and the sun (neut.)’; 33. 13 yā vē ā bifrā, … yā vāŋhōuś asīt maŋañhō, ‘those virtues (?) of yours, which (neut. pl.) are the reward (fem. sg.) of good thought’; 43. 1 tat mōi ādā … rāiō asīs, ‘give me that (neut. sg.) as the rewards (fem. pl.) of munificence’; 43. 11 sādhrā mōi sās mašiaēsū razḏäitīs, ‘trust (fem. sg.) in mortals reveals itself to me as grief (neut. pl.)’. In 51. 14 a plural noun is taken up as a singular in a relative clause: x'āis šītoḏnăścā sōnghaścā; vē iś sōnghō apēmēm Drūjō domānē ādāt, ‘by their actions and teachings; which teaching will consign them at the last to the house of Wrong’.

In 33. 2 a relative clause in the singular, defining a class of person, is taken up by a plural in the main clause: at yō akēm dreguvaštē … vaɾṇāstī, vaŋhāu vā courtaitē asīm, tōi vaɾrāi rā.ndarrayī, ‘he that does evil to the wrongful one, or instructs his comrade in goodness, they (= such men) will be prompt to (Mazdā’s) will’.

Apposition

19. One noun may be placed beside another in apposition to give it greater definition: 44. 3 zāqā ptā, ‘father-begetter’; perhaps 31. 9 ďōśā ā gōuś taśā as xraṭuś mainiēūs, ‘thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will’.

In other examples a longer noun phrase is appended in apposition to expand on the meaning: 28. 7 tām asīm, vaŋhōuś āiaptē maŋañhō, ‘that reward, the blessings of good thought’; 31. 6 yō mōi viduva vaocā hāiam, maḏrem yim hauruqatāo aṣahiē amara&lt;ta&gt;tātaścā, ‘who knows and speaks my truth, the prescript of health, right, and continuing life’; 34. 12–13 sīśā nā … paḥō vaŋhōuś xeʻētōng maŋañhō, tōm aduẁaṃ, Ahūrā, yēm mōi mraaḥs, ‘teach us the paths of good thought that are well to travel—that road, Lord, of which thouittest me’.

20. A pronoun may be followed up by a noun or noun phrase in apposition, to make its reference more explicit or simply to add extra predication: 29. 5 vā … mō uruqā gōuścā, ‘we two, my soul and the cow’s’; 29. 8 aēm mōi ādā vistiō, … Zaraḏuṧrō Spitāmō, ‘this man here I have found, Zarathushtra Spitama’; 30. 1 at tā vaṃśitiā, … yā maṣḏāḏā …: stotācā Ahūrāi yeṃiācā Vaŋhōuś Manajhō, ‘now I will tell those things that you are to bring to the attention …, praises
Nouns and Adjectives

11

for the Lord and worship of Good Thought’; 30. 3 ət tā mainiResolution, paouruiResolution yā yēmā xəfənā arswuResolution manah[(c) Resolution vacahīc Resolution šiaodanō Resolution hī Resolution vahīō akemcā Resolution ‘they are the two Wills Resolution the twins who in the beginning made themselves heard through dreaming Resolution those two thoughts Resolution speeches Resolution actions Resolution the better and the evil’; 32. 1 ašii Resolution xətə Resolution yāta Resolution ahi Resolution vərezōnem ma Resolution ariRNamā Resolution ahi Resolution daeΔu Resolution mahmi Resolution manoi Resolution AhurahiResolution uruu Resolution Zemā Resolution Mazdā Resolution ‘suppose for his the clan prays Resolution for his the village with the tribe Resolution for his the Daevas Resolution in my fancy Resolution for the Lord Mazdā’s bliss-giving’; 32. 3 yūş dæeΔu Resolution vīspāŋhō Resolution ‘all you Daevas’; 44. 7 ḍīō Resolution fraxnī Resolution auiResolution Mazdā Resolution spənta Resolution mainiResolution vīspāŋ Resolution dātām Resolution ‘I am concerned to promote thee Resolution Mazdā Resolution (thee) the ordainer of all things through thy bounteous will’; 46. 19 yō mōi ašāt haitim hacā varuResolution, ZaraθuśtResolution hīta Resolution vasnā fra Resolution šōtēmōm Resolution ‘whoever in accord with Right will make real for me Resolution for Zarathustra Resolution the utmost splendour of my desiring’ Resolution cf. 51. 12; 47. 2 huuŋ Resolution ptā Resolution AṣahīiResolution Mazdā Resolution ‘he is the Father of Right Resolution he Mazdā’.

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

Nouns and Adjectives

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

In some circumstances adjectives may assume the independence of nouns:

23. A masc. adjective (sg. or pl.) is often used in general propositions Resolution standing for any or all persons characterized by a certain quality Resolution it may also denote specific persons. Examples: 30. 7 aēsām Resolution … paouruiResolution ‘their first one Resolution (leader)’; 30. 11 drəguōdēbīiResolution … ašaunResolution ‘for the wrongful Resolution for the righteous’; 33. 7 vaθiResolution Resolution ‘O best ones’; 34. 7 kuōr Resolution tōıResolution arədrē Resolution ‘where are thy zealous ones?’ Resolution 34. 8 pouruResolution ‘for many’ Resolution 34. 10 huRx Resolution … ‘(any) wise man’ Resolution 43. 15 pouruResolution drəguōtō Resolution … vīspōŋ Resolution ašaunResolution ‘the many wrongful … all the righteous’ Resolution 44. 5 caζDNAuHoward Resolution … ‘the prudent man’ Resolution 49. 1 duθvResolution ‘the ill-protected’ Resolution 53. 8 duθvResolution … vīspōŋ Resolution ‘(the) evil-doers Resolution all of them’. Not to be overlooked is 28. 1 (and passim) Mazdā ‘the Mindful One’ as alternative to Mazdā Ahur Resolution ‘the Mindful Lord’ Resolution or Ahur Resolution ‘the Lord’.

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In 44. 4 kā vēta Resolution duθmnResolution biiResolution … yaog Resolution … ‘who yoked the winds’ and the clouds’ swift pair’, the masc. dual adjective aśu, ‘swift ones’, stands for ‘swift steeds’.
24. A neut. sg. adjective may stand for an absolute quality or indefinite entity: 28. 8 vahištem, ‘the best thing’, cf. 31. 6, 32. 16, 43. 2; 31. 6 haiđim, ‘a truth’; 31. 19 vajjāʾ, ‘in the good’, cf. 33. 2; 33. 2 akām, ‘evil’, cf. 51. 8; 43. 10 parštām, ‘question’; 44. 2 ājhaus vahištahiiā paouruūiṃ, ‘the best existence’s first (beginning)’, cf. 45. 2, 3 (twice).

25. A neut. pl. adjective may stand in a more general sense: 32. 12 akā, ‘evil things’; 30. 2 vahištā, ‘the best things’, cf. 43. 15, 45. 6; 30. 5 acištā, ‘the worst things’; 31. 12 maēḍā, ‘uncertainties’, cf. 34. 6; 33. 1 dāṭā, ‘ordainances’; 33. 1 miḍaḥiśā, ‘false deeds’; 33. 6 vāstriśā, ‘pastoral works’; 34. 7 sāḍrā, ‘sadnesses’, cf. 43. 11, 45. 7; 43. 12 nōṭ asrūstā, ‘things not unheeded’; 44. 3 tāciṭ … antiścā, ‘these things and other things’; 44. 16 ciḍrā, ‘clarity’; 46. 19 manē.vistāiū maṭ vispāṭ, ‘with all spiritual acquisitions’; 49. 4 huuarštā, dužuuarštā, ‘good deeds, bad deeds’; 53. 3 spōništā ārmatoiś hudāntū, ‘piety’s most liberal benefactions’; YH 35. 2 humatanāṃ huixtanāṃ huuarstanāṃ, ‘of things well thought, well spoken, well done’; ibid. vohuṇaṃ, ‘of good things’.

Abstracta

26. Zarathushtra’s thought moves in abstract realms, and he makes free use of abstract nouns. He does not hesitate to make them the subject of a sentence, as in 30. 7 əṭ kohrpōm utaīūṭiś dada, ārmaitiś anmā, ‘then vitality informs the body, piety the soul’; 30. 8 yadd aēšam kaēnā jamaitī āenaṇhāṃ, ‘when the punishment comes for their offences’. Sometimes the language suggests a degree of personification, as in 29. 1 ā mā aēšomō hazascā remō hiśāṣāi deroś touiścā, ‘fury and force, cruelty, violence, and aggression hold me bound’; 30. 6 hiiaj iś ā dobaomā perasomnāng upā jasāt, ‘because delusion comes upon them as they deliberate’; 31. 20 tōm va ahūm … daēnā naēṣaṭ, ‘that is the existence to which your morality will lead you’; 32. 5 Akā Manajhō stā ciḍrām … Drūjascā Patirmatōiścā, ‘ye are seed (sprung) from Evil thought and from Wrong and Contempt’; 43. 15 daxṣāt uṣxiśāi tuṣnāmaidīst vahištā, ‘silent meditation teaches me the best things to say’; 49. 2 nōṭ spoṇtāṃ derošt aḥmāi stōi Ārmaitīm, naēdā Vohū … fraštā Manajhā, ‘he has not embraced bounteous Piety to make her his, nor taken counsel with Good Thought’.

27. The figures of Ārmaiti- ‘Piety’, Vohu- Manah- ‘Good Thought’, and Aṣēṃ ‘Right’ are constantly treated as quasi-divine beings associated with Ahura Mazdā. In several passages where Right is directly addressed or treated as a living agent, the neuter Aṣēṃ (= Vedic Rītām) appears to be given animate status by transfer to the masculine gender, with both nominative and vocative appearing as Aṣā: nom. 29. 3; 30. 9; 46. 9; voc. 28. 3, 5, 6, 7.⁶

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⁶ I take the nom. Aṣā (for expected *Aṣō or *Aṣā) to be an irregular modernization of an original *Arta. See further West (2007b), 76 f.
28. Abstract stands for concrete in 32. 15 Karpōtāscā Kauuitāscā, ‘the Karpanhood and the Kavihood’, for ‘the Karpans and the Kavis’; and in a different type of idiom in 46. 3 saošiiantam xratāuō, ‘the sapiences of the Promoters’, for ‘the sapient Promoters’. There is what looks like a similar phrase in 48. 10 yācā xratā duṣṭaṣaṇrā daxiitunām, ‘and the misruling sapiences of the regions’, though the form xratā is problematic: if it is a dual, the reference will be to a particular pair of bad rulers, but conceivably it is a neuter plural in a collective sense (cf. §39).

In several places abstracts serve as predicates to personal subjects:7 34. 13 mīzdom, Mazdā, yehiiā tū daṭrām, ‘the reward, Mazdā, of which thou art the gift’; 43. 8 hauitiō duuaešā hiiat isōiiā drēgutaitē, at aśaunē rafnō xitēm aojōph-uuat, ‘may I be in reality, as I would wish, a bane to the wrongful one, but to the righteous one a strong support’; 53. 9 tōi narapiš rajas, ‘they are warining(?) and darkness(?)’; YH 36. 1 yē a axtiē ahmāi, yēm axtōiōi dāyēhē, ‘(thy Fire), which is torment for whom thou puttest to torment’; 41. 3 aūā tū nē gaiiascā astontascā xīiā, ‘so mayest thou be our life and substance’.

Verbal Nouns (nomina agentis, actionis)

29. Agent nouns formed from verbal roots have a certain ambivalence as between noun and verb status. The object of the inherent verb usually appears in the genitive (nominal reaction): 29. 2 taśā gēuš, ‘the fashioner of the cow’; 31. 17 vaŋhōuš fradaxštā manaŋhō, ‘the teacher of good thought’; 32. 13 aŋhōuš marextāro ahiitā, ‘destroyers of this existence’; 44. 4 vaŋhōuš … damiš manaŋhō, ‘the creator of good thought’; 44. 7 viṣpanam dātaṃ, ‘ordainer of all things’; 48. 12 hamaeṭaṛō aēśmaḥiitā, ‘the smitters of violence’; 50. 6 dātā xrat-ōuš, ‘the giver of wisdom’; 50. 11 dātā aŋhōuš, ‘the ordainer of the world’; 51. 10 dāmōiš Dṛujō, ‘of the creator of Wrong’. But damiš ‘creator’ is also used with the object in the accusative (verbal reaction): 31. 7 huuō xraibā đamiš aśom, ‘he by his wisdom is the creator of Right’; 45. 7 tācā xšaṭrā Mazdā đamiš Ahurō, ‘of those realms too Mazdā is the creator’; and similarly with manaobōri-, 44. 5 yā manaobōriś cazoṇhuuantam areb̥ahiiā, ‘which are admonishers (of) the prudent man of his endeavour’.

In YH 35. 2 agent nouns are construed with the copula to characterize the subject: humataŋtam hūxtanam huuarṣtanam … mahī aibi jareṭāro; nae naeṣṭāro yaṇāṇa vohuṇaṁ mahī, ‘we are approvers of good thoughts, good words, good deeds … we are not revilers of what is good’.

30. Nomina actionis too are occasionally construed with verbal reaction: 32. 11 aŋhīṣcā aŋhauuaesco apaietiث raēxəñhō vaēdaṃ, ‘by the depriving (instr.) matrons and masters (acc.) (of) the possession (acc.) of their inheritance (gen.)’; 34. 7 Vaŋhōuš vaēdaṇa Manahḥō sōŋhīṣ raēxna, ‘by possession of Good

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7 Cf. Humbach i. 102 f.
Thought’s decrees (and) legacies’; 43. 11 *maššiaēšū zrazdātiš*, ‘trust in mortals (loc.)’; 45. 9 *pasūš virēng ahmākōng fradaḇāiīā*, ‘for the furtherance of our herds (and) men’, cf. 31. 16; 48. 5 yaozdā ... *zašem*, ‘purification of breeding’; YH 35. 9 *ašem manaiiā vahehiiā*, ‘with better thinking (on) Right’; 40. 4 *ištōm rāti*, ‘with (our) offering (our) capability(?)*.

31. Nomina actionis in -*ti*- are sometimes used in preference to a construction with a finite verb or infinitive: 33. 6 *tā tōi iziīā*, Ahūrā Mazdā, *darštōiścā hēm.parštōiścā*, ‘with that (mind) I long, Mazdā, for beholding and conferring with thee’; 34. 9 *vanjōuš āuuisū manajhō*, ‘in (their) non-acquisition of good thought’; 44. 4 *kas.nā deratā zāmčā adō nabāscā auuapastōiś*? ‘who held the earth from beneath and the heaven from falling down?’; 46. 4 *aṭ tōng drugiuā ... pāt gā frōrētōiś*, ‘but the wrongful one keeps those oxen from coming forth’.

Nominal Composition as Syntax

32. The creation of nominal compounds was an ancient and productive strategy of Indo-Iranian discourse. Those that contain a verbal component effectively compress a verbal phrase into a single grammatical element capable of being deployed in a larger sentence in any of the relationships that its various case-endings provide for. The compound may simply be an ornamental adjunct that contributes nothing essential to the purpose of the sentence. Or it may, especially if it is newly coined *ad hoc*, carry a pointed or pregnant sense. For example, in 29. 3 the sense ‘Right does not want to break ranks with the other Ahuras, and he has no hostility to the cow, so he answers’ is packed into the sentence *ahmAi Ašā, nōi t sarejā, aduuaēšō gauōī, paiī.mrawaT*, ‘to him Right, not a union-breacher, unhostile to the cow, will answer’. In 32. 4 what may be paraphrased as ‘the worst things that mortals are to do, so that the Daevas are more pleased with them’ is expressed as *yā maššiā aciśtā daṇṭō vaxšōntē daē- uuō.zuśtā*, ‘the worst things, by doing which mortals will wax Daeva-favoured’. In 44. 2 the proposition that a man with certain qualifications has a healing effect on the world is expressed by *huuō ... ahūm.biś*, ‘that man is a world-healer’. In 53. 6 the idea is that when the wrongful get their deserts, they will be given only foul food to eat, they will be lamenting, they will lose all amenities, because they have diminished Right: the words (following a lacuna) are *vaiūī.berodbiō duśx'arēšēm; nāsaṭ x'ādrem draguūodebiō dōžī.artaēbiētō*, ‘for the Alas-utterers bad-food; well-being is lost for the wrongful Right-diminishers’.
Degrees of Comparison

33. The comparative degree of adjectives or adverbs has two distinct uses. It may signify that something has a greater degree of some quality than something else; if the point of reference is given, it stands in the ablative, as in 43. 3 

\[ \text{vahtho's vahii} \text{, 'better than good'} \]; 51. 6 

\[ \text{akath a'isi} \text{, 'worse than bad'} \]. Or it may just have contrastive force, as in 30. 3 

\[ \text{manah} \text{ vacahicah shiaodhanoi hi, vahii} \text{ akomca}, ' \text{those two kinds of thought, of speech, of deed, the better one (= the good one) and the bad one'} \]; 45. 2 

\[ \text{yaiith spaniait uiti mrawat vem angrem, '(the two Wills,) of whom the (more) Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one'} \]; 34. 8 

\[ \text{hiath asajoia naiidiyham, 'as a strong man a weaker one'} \]; 48. 4 

\[ \text{yath iat mano vahii ... a'isiaccii, 'he who sets in place better thought or worse'} \]; 31. 20 

\[ \text{yaiat asauanan, diuuanon hoi aparem x'aii}, ' \text{whoso goes to the righteous one, radiance is his to possess afterwards (in contrast with now)}', \text{cf. 45. 11} \]. In 34. 6 

\[ \text{yath vayazmaencii uruudhdiia stauaus aiieni paiiti, 'that I may come to you worshipping and praising you more gladly'}, \text{one may take the comparative either way, as 'more gladly than I would otherwise', or as 'gladly as opposed to miserably'} \].

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

34. The superlative degree too has two uses. It may signify absolute supremacy within a given category (identified in the genitive): 29. 3 

\[ \text{hathm aojiisoth, 'mightiest of beings', cf. YH 35. 3} \]; 45. 6 

\[ \text{vispanam maziistam, 'the greatest one of all'} \]; 45. 4 

\[ \text{a'hihoo a'hiia vahisham, 'the best one in this world'} \]; YH 36. 6 

\[ \text{sraaistaam ... kohropum kohropum ... baraziistam barezimanam, 'fairest body of bodies ... highest of the high'} \]. Where there is no genitive, the absolute value of the superlative may be indicated by other means, as in 33. 5 

\[ \text{vispo'maziistam, 'all-greatest, supreme'} \]; 46. 19 = 50. 11 

\[ \text{hiath vasnaa fraoatem}, ' \text{what is most splendid by way of my desiring', i.e. what I desire as being supremely splendid}. \]

The superlative agrees in gender with the noun of which it is predicated, not with the genitive: 44. 10 

\[ \text{tum daenam, yath hathm (neut.) vahistha (fem.), 'that religion which is the best of existing things'} \].

35. Or the superlative may be simply relative, indicating a high degree of the quality in question. Thus in 30. 4 

\[ \text{vahistham mano, 'best thought', is merely a metrical alternative for vohu mano, 'good thought', cf. 32. 11; and likewise with 28. 8 A'sa vahistha, 30. 5 mainitius speniistoth (contrasted with positive yath droguua, 30. 6 asiistam mano, 46. 6 vahistho (parallel with positive friiio); 33. 1 

\[ \text{shiaodnha razisti, 'by action most just'} \]; 45. 5 

\[ \text{spentostenoth, 'the most bounteous one'} \]; 49. 8 

\[ \text{fraestanho, 'best friends'} \]; 53. 7 

\[ \text{zraziistho, 'fully trusting'} \].

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8 Skjærvø 124 f.
9 Cf. Delbrück iii. 248 f.
36. Certain superlative forms are made on verbal roots and have verbal correction: 46. 19 tâciṭ mōi sās tuēm ... vaēdiśṭō, ‘(of) those things thou seemest to me the best provider’, cf. 32. 7; 29. 4 saxʿārō maṅrīśtō, ‘most heedful (of) initiatives’; 51. 1 xādrem ... bāgam aibī bairīstam, ‘dominion most productive (of) fortune’.

Gender

37. The masculine is the default gender for persons of unspecific identity or for classes of person in general propositions; cf. §23 on the substantival use of masculine adjectives. In 53. 4, where the reference is to women getting married, we have the generic feminine aśāunī, ‘a righteous woman’.

In YH 39. 2 aśāunam āat urunō ... naraṅmcā nārīnaṃcā, ‘the souls of the righteous, both men and women’, both sexes are then covered by the masculine pronoun yaēςqam, ‘whose’. In 39. 3, on the other hand, we have yazamaidē vāṅhūscā iṭ vaṃhūscā iṭ, … yōī vāṅhāus ā manāfāhō šiieīnī, yāscā uīī, ‘we worship the good Ones (masc.) and the good Ones (fem.), … those (masc.) that dwell on the side of Good Thought, and those (fem.) likewise’.

38. When personalized language is used of abstract entities it is appropriate for them to have animate gender. Those that already have a lexical masculine or feminine gender retain it. So ārmaiti- is treated as a female being; cf. 49. 2 nōiṭ spaṃtāṃ dōrśt ahmāi stōī Ārmaitīṃ, which may be understood as ‘he has not embraced bounteous Piety to make her his’. But the neuter aśa-, when so far personified as to speak or be spoken to, is transferred to the morphologically closest animate gender, the masculine; see §27.

39. The neuter plural represents a collectivity and is treated as a singular when the subject of a verb (§15). In §28 I have raised the possibility that in 48. 10 the normal masc. pl. xratawō is replaced by a neuter pl. xrati to represent the collectivity of bad regional rulers.

Sometimes a neuter plural pronoun is used in summing up a mixed list of items: 31. 13 yā frasā ānuśiṭīā, yā vā ... peresaētē taiā, yā vā ... tā ... aibī aśā vaṃnāhā vīspā, ‘the questioning (fem.) that is overt, or the secrets (neut.) that the two debate, or if someone ..., all those things thou regardest with Right’; 34. 1–2, where a set of things consisting of two neuter plurals (śāaodnā, vacauḥ-hā) and a masculine (yasna-) are summed up first in aēςqam ‘of these’ (masc. or neut.) and then in the neut. pl. ṭī (... vīspā); 34. 11.

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

Number\textsuperscript{12}

**Singular**

40. The singular is often used in a representative sense, standing for a whole class: 44. 20 Karapā Usīścā ... Kauuā, ‘the Karpan and the Usīj ... the Kavi’; 29. 5 nōiṭ orṣṇiṭiūi frājīiūiṭiūi, nōiṭ ṣvuiṇṭe? ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stock-raiser?’; 31. 11 vasā, ‘the free agent’; 31. 17 katārēm aṣauuā vā druguuā vā vernaauuaitē maziiō? vīduuā vīduśē mraotū, mā sauīduuā aipī dēbāuūaiiaṭ, ‘which is to be the more persuasive, the righteous one or the wrongful? Let the knowing one speak to the knowing; let the unknown delude no longer’; 32. 12 vahistā śīiōdnnā, ‘from the best action’. In 30. 4 singular and plural are used equivalently: aciśtō druqubuqīt, at aṣāunē vahistem maṇō, ‘that of the wrongful (pl.) the worst (existence), but for the righteous one, best thought’, and similarly in 31. 14 and elsewhere.

41. In 31. 18 aṭā iś sādūm snaiḥiśā, ‘so cut them down with axe’, the imperative is plural, being addressed to an entire audience, but snaiḥiśā is instr. sg. because each man will wield a single axe. But more often the plural is used for things of which a plurality of people each have one or a pair: 29. 5 aṭ vā ustānāś ā huuā zastāś, ‘but we two are here with outstretched hands’ (pl. not dual); 30. 2 sraotā gōuśiśā vahitiśā, ‘hear with your ears the best things’, and similarly in 51. 3; 31. 11 hiiaṭ nō ... gaēbāścā taśō daēnascā ... xraṭuścā, ‘since thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves and intellects’; 32. 14 ni Kāuauiaiṣcīt xraṭiś dadaṭ varecahīcā, ‘the very Kavis give up their intellects and dignities’; 34. 13 daēnā sasaśiīantām, ‘the Promoters’ moral selves’, cf. 49. 9; 46. 11 xsa-ṭrāśi, of the Karpans’ and Kavis’ authorities; 33. 9 aiiā ārōi hākuream, yaiiā hacintē urruquṅō, ‘the fellowship of those two is assured, whose (dual) souls (pl.) agree (pl.)’, cf. 45. 2.

**Dual**

42. The dual is regularly used when two persons or things are considered together. So with bodily parts: eyes, 32. 10; hands, 33. 2; thighs, 53. 7. Of a pair of animals: 44. 4 āśi ‘swift pair (of steeds)’; 51. 12 vāśā ‘pair of draught animals’; 46. 19 gauuā āzī ‘pair of milch cows’, or perhaps ‘a milch cow with a bull’. The duality may be resolved into its constituents: 28. 2 ahuuā, astuauatascā hiiaṭcā maṇaṅhō, ‘of the two existences, the material one and that of thought’; 30. 3 mainiiū, ... yēmā ..., maṇaḥī vacahicā śīiōdānōī hī, vahīiō akamcā, ‘the two Wills ... those twins ... the two thoughts, speeches, deeds, the better one and the evil’. Of morally antithetical pairs also 31. 3 rānōibītā, ‘the two parties’, cf. 31. 19; 43. 12; 47. 6; 51. 9; 51. 5 aśiīā, ‘the two (alternative) rewards’.

\textsuperscript{12} Delbrück i. 133–72; Reichelt §§417–24.
II. Morphosyntax

43. When two things with separate names are conceived as a linked pair, we find the dual dvandva construction, by which both nouns are put in the dual: 34. 11 utaiiūtī touiūsī, ‘vitality and strength’, cf. 43. 1, 45. 10, 48. 6, 51. 7; 45. 5 hauruuātā ameratātā, ‘health and non-dying’, cf. 45. 10, 47. 1, 51. 7; but on the other hand 34. 11 ubē hauruuāscā ... ameratātscā, ‘both (dual) health (sg.) and non-dying (sg.)’, where the emphasis is on Mazda’s having these two sources of nourishment to add together.

Normally the duals in this construction are placed in immediate juxtaposition with no other word separating them, but in 48. 6 we find utaiiūtī dā d touiūsī.

Plural

44. Certain nouns are pluralia tautum: apō ‘the waters’ (44. 4; YH 37. 1, 38. 3, 5); raocā ‘the light (of day)’ (30. 1, 31. 7, 44. 5, 50. 10; YH 36. 6, 37. 1). tamaḥ- ‘darkness’ occurs in the sg. in 31. 20, but in the pl. when coupled with raocā in 44. 5.

45. With other nouns the plural gives a nuanced meaning: 29. 10 yā hushitiś rāmṇmcā dāt, ‘by which one may establish well-ordered dwelling (pl., sc. in different settlements?) and peace’; 33. 10 viśpās tā hujītaiō, ‘all those good lives’ (pl. of abstract hujīti- ‘good living’); 33. 13 frō ... daēnā daxsaiiā, ‘teach (me) moral principles’; 44. 1 friiā hākurenā, ‘friendly relations’ (sg. 33. 9, ‘fellowship’ of two persons); 45. 10 yasnāiś ārmatoiś, ‘with worships of piety’, i.e. pious acts of worship; 48. 7 at hōi dāmam ṭṇahmī ā ḍam, ‘his lodgings are in thy house’; 51. 4 kuṭrā ṭṇā xšādrā, ‘where are thy areas of control?’; YH 38. 2 Žā, Yaoštaiīō, Faraštaiiō, Ārmataiīō, ‘the Libations, the Purifications, the Consummations, the Pieties’, as personified objects of veneration.

The plural proper name in 46. 15 Haecaṭaspā ... Spītamāgho, ‘O Haecat-aspā Spītāmas’, refers to members of a particular branch of the Spītāma family, one of whose women is designated in 53. 3 as Pourucistā Haecaṭaspānā Spītāmī.

The Cases

46. Old Avestan has the eight inherited cases, nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, vocative. All of them are in active use, with only limited support from appositives. The syntactical density obtained by combining several cases in one sentence may be exemplified by 47. 6:

tā dá sponṭā mainiū, Mazdā Ahūrā, 
ābrā vaghāu vī. dāiūm rānoūiū ṭiū 
ārmatōiś dēb 당시 hāṣaxiiūcā.

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

The sentence contains a single verb and nine nouns or noun phrases: in sequence, an instrumental, vocative, instrumental, locative, accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental, genitive. Several of the cases are adnominal, AqrA, WaM- and rAnOibiiA all being dependent on the verbal noun WI:dAitIm, and the two genitives on debzayhā.

Nominative

47. The subject of a main or subordinate clause, where expressed, stands in the nominative. With an active verb it represents the agent, with a passive verb the topic.

48. The nominative is used in the predicate for that which is equated with the subject, whether by means of the verb ‘be’ (expressed or understood; see §8) or by such connections as ‘seem to be’, ‘be found to be’, ‘be declared to be’: 31. 17 zdi nē, Mazdā Ahurā, vaŋhōuš fradaxštā manahjō, ‘be for us, Lord Mazdā, our teacher of good thought’; 46. 19 tācit mōi sās tuuēm, Mazdā, vaedištō, ‘of those things thou, Mazdā, appearest to me the best provider’; 48. 2 hā zī aŋhōuš vaŋhī vistā ākāratiš, ‘for that is the pattern of existence found to be good’; 33. 8 dātā vō amoratascā … hauruutās draonō, ‘non-dying and health were established as your portion’; 48. 12 tōi zī dātā hamaēstārō aēšmahiiā, ‘for they are appointed as smitters of violence’; 48. 8 kā lḇōi … vaŋhōuš mainii-ōuš šiiaothanān q jauwarō? ‘what (potency) is thine, as stimulus (?) for enactments of the Good Will?’; 32. 7 aēšām aēnaŋhām … yā jōīā sānghaitē, ‘of such offences which are decreed to be matters of life (and death)’; 50. 11 aṯ vō staota aojāi, ‘I will declare myself your praise-singer’; 53. 8 anāiš ā dužuuarśnahjō dašniiā hōntū zaiiīacā vispāŋhō, ‘hereby let the evildoers be thwarted and mocked, all of them’; YH 41. 4 aēšācā lḇā ṭmawuantascā buiimā, ‘may we become potent and strong through thee’; 41. 5 lḇōi staotarascā maḏranascā … aogmadaēcā usmahicā visāmadaēcā, ‘thy praisers and prophets we declare ourselves and desire (to be) and stand ready (to be)’.

49. In other circumstances too a nominative, referring to the subject, may appear as part of the predicate: 28. 1 yāsā namahjā ustāna.zastō, ‘I pray you in reverence with outstretched hands’; 31. 7 yas.tā maštā paouuiiō … xādrā, ‘he who first conceived these felicities’, cf. 44. 11; 46. 9; 31. 13 tā … hārō aibī … vaēnahī vispā, ‘all those things thou regardest watchful’; 32. 4 mašiīā … vaŋ-xāntē daēnuo.zustā, ‘mortals will grow Daeva-favoured’; 14 Delbrück i. 393 f.; Reichelt §§429–31; Skjærvø 103 f.

14 Unless daēnuo.zustā is the locative of an otherwise unattested noun *daēnuo.zustī-.
II. Morphosyntax

aiiōm, angrō mainiietē, ‘he, not the other, thinks as an enemy’; 51. 15 garō
dominē Ahurō Mazda jasaṭ paouruiō, ‘Lord Mazda enters the house of song
first’; 53. 7 yauuṣ ḍruṣ crradīśō, ‘he will apply his penis in full confidence’.

50. In one passage the leading ideas of the sentence are presented in a series of
nominatives, but then the construction changes, and they become the object in
a new subject–predicate formulation: 31. 20 darvgVm āihn temaṇhô, duś-
xarvqVm, awaEtAs WacO, tVm Wl ahUm, drvgwaNtO, … daEnA
naESaT, ‘a long age
of darkness, foul food, crying of woe (nom.) by way of speech—that existence
(acc.), ye wrongful, your morality will bring you to’.

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

Accusative

51. The accusative may be considered as the focusing or limiting case: it serves
to bring definition and closure to an open-ended or incomplete predicate. For
example, a transitive verb such as ‘create’ or ‘choose’ does not by itself consti-
tute a meaningful predication of a subject; we need to know who or what was
created or chosen, and if the verb is in the active, that information is expressed
in the accusative. If the verb is ‘go’, we shall often need to know the destina-
tion, and this too is given in the accusative: 29. 3 yahmāi zauuŋg jimā, ‘to
whose calls I will go’; 43. 12 aśem jasō, ‘go (to) Right’; 30. 6 aēsaman
hōn.duuaṟantā, ‘they scurry (to) violence’; 44. 8 kā mō uruaṽ vohū urrua른sat
āgmātā? ‘(to) what good destinations will my soul journey?’; cf. 31. 20; 34. 13;
44. 17; 45. 5; 46. 1; 48. 2; 53. 8; 44. 12 yō mā druguuā ṉhā sauuā pait.aretē
ciiatnḥat, ‘the wrongful one who enjoys opposing (lit. going at) thy gains’.
With gam in the sense of ‘accede to’ a wish: 43. 13 vēm vā naeciś dārśt itē, ‘(a
desire) (to) which no one forces you to accede’.

52. With verbs of speaking the accusative may specify the thing spoken
of, as in 34. 10 ahiīa vahīhōṣ manaṇhō śīāōḏnā vaocā ġerbaṁ hucratuś, ‘(of)
this Good Thought’s deeds the wise man says “let them be seized hold of”’;
34. 15 at môi vahīstā srauuaścā śīāōdanācā vaocā, ‘tell me the best things to
be known for and to do’ In 45. 2 the accusative specifies the person addressed:
spānīūī ātiū mrauuaṭ vēm angrōm, ‘the Bounteous (Will) speaks thus (to) the
Hostile one’, though elsewhere the dative is used (§78).

Similarly with man ‘think on’: 34. 8 yōi nōiṭ aśem mainiintā, ‘those who
did not think on Right’; 43. 9 rātam namaṇhō Aṣahiīa … mainiīā, ‘the tribute
of reverence of Right I shall hold in mind’. In the preceding sentence the ac-
cusative is apparently used of a question answered by speaking: ahiīa fraśūm

16 Spiegel §§303–11; Delbrück i. 360–93; Reichelt §§436–43; T. Gotō in H. Hettrich
(ed.), Indogermanische Syntax. Fragen und Perspektiven (Wiesbaden 2002), 21–42; Skjærvø
105–8.
Nouns and Adjectives

21.

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

With an intransitive verb, specifying something internal to the subject: 33. 10 *uxšiiā* ... *tanūm*, ‘grow in body’.

53. In §§29–30 examples have been given of *nomina agentis* or *actionis* governing accusative objects. The same happens with adjectives that contain a verbal root or notion: 32. 8 yē *mašiīōng* cixšnušō ahmākōng, ‘who sought to gratify our mortal race’, cf. 43. 15, 45. 9, 49. 1; 34. 7 yōi ... *sādrācīt* caxraīō ēsāurū, ‘who make even sorrows innocuous’; 32. 12 *īšāngm* drueṃ, ‘of those desirous (of) wrong’; 34. 14 *xratōus* āṣā *frādō* ve rezēnā, ‘of the wisdom promotive (of) communities with Right’, cf. 46. 12; 44. 2 *irīxtem* vispōiīō *hārō*, ‘observant (of) the outcome for all’; 45. 7 yā *naraq* sādrā *draguato*, ‘which are griefs (to) wrongful men’; 46. 2 *rafeḏrēm* caguūā, ‘affording support’. Cf. also the superlative forms noted in §36.

54. Some verbs naturally require two specifications and take two accusatives. ‘Ask’, ‘pray’, ‘order’, or ‘teach’ may require both a recipient and a content for the question, the prayer, the command, or the lesson. So 51. 21 tēm *vayēhīm* yāsā āṣim, ‘him I pray (for) good reward’, cf. 28. 1; 49. 8; 31. 14 tā *ūbā* parasā, ‘these things I ask thee’; 43. 3 yē nā orēzuš sauauŋhō paḍō siśōit, ‘who should teach us the straight paths of advancement’, cf. 34. 12; 45. 6. ‘Deprive’ requires both a person who is deprived and something of which he is deprived: 32. 9 apō mā īštīm yaṃtā, ‘he takes capability away from me’; 32. 11 *a(vp)hiścā* anhuuascā apaiieīū ... vaēdvem, ‘by deprival (nomen actionis) (of) matrons and masters (of) possession’. And as verbs of motion take an accusative of the destination, a verb meaning ‘lead’ may logically take a double accusative, as in 31. 20 tēm va ahūm ... *daēnā* naēsāt, ‘that is the existence to which your morality will bring you’.

In 34. 6 yezi aṭā stā haiṭīm, ... *aṭ† tāt* mōi daxštom dātā, ‘if ye are truly thus, then give a proof (of) that to me’, daxštom dātā ‘give a proof’ is apparently treated as equivalent to ‘prove’, governing the object *tāt*.

55. Several verbs are construed with two accusatives of which one represents a secondary predicate: give or find A as a B; make A (into) B; think, declare, know, wish A to be B, etc.

*dā* ‘give, establish’: 33. 14 *aṭ† rātām* Zarābūṣtrō tanuuascīt x’axiiā uṣṭanām dādāītī, ‘Zarathushtra dedicates his own body’s energy as an offering’, cf. 34. 3; 43. 1, 2, 5. In 50. 6 dātā xratōus hizuuō raiṭīm stōi mahītīā, ‘the giver of wisdom

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

vid- ‘find’: 28. 5 manascā vohū vaedōmnō gātumcā āhurāī ... sraosēm Mazdāī, ‘finding Good Thought and, as a path (or throne) for the Lord Mazdā, compliance’.

han- ‘earn, deserve’: 46. 19 ahmāī mīṣdām hanaṇtē parāhūm, ‘to him, who deserves the world beyond as reward’.

Verbs of making: 32. 10 yascā dāūṃg drequautō dādāt, ‘and he who makes the upright wrongful’, cf. 34. 6, 15; 43. 10; 30. 9 yōī im fraēm kereṇāum ahūm, ‘who will make this existence splendid’, cf. 44. 7; 46. 19 yō mōī ... haidīm ... varāṣaitī ... hiiāt vasmā fraētōmēm, ‘he who will make real for me the utmost splendid of my desiring’.

man-: 29. 10 azmēciī ahīiā ... ḍēṣīm mējīhī paouruuīm vaēdōm, ‘I think thee the first procurer of that’, cf. 43. 4; 46. 13.

Verbs of speaking: 32. 10 yō aciśtēm vaēṇaījē hōgēm aṣibīīh hhuvarocē, ‘who affirms the worst thing to behold with the eyes to be the cow and the sun’; 43. 11 hiiaṭ mōī mraotā vaihiṣtām, ‘what you tell me is best’; 43. 15 at tōī vīspōn angrōng aṣānō adārē, ‘they have declared all the righteous their enemies’; YH 36. 6 sraēstēm at tōī kēhrpēm kēhrpēm āuēdaiīamaīh ... imā raōcā, ‘fairest body of thy bodies we proclaim this daylight’.

vid- ‘know’: 28. 10 yōng ... vōīstā ... dāūṃg, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright’; ibid., at vō xśmaibīīh aṣūnā vaēdā xaraiōtīh vaintītā srauūa, ‘I know that well-purposed hymns of homage to you are not in vain’; cf. 34. 10; 46. 10.

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

fra.var-: 31. 10 frauaraṭē vāstrīm aṣiīiā fṣuiāntam ahurēm, ‘she chose the herdsmen, the stock-raiser, as her lord’.

In YH 37. 3 we have accusatives both of the one worshipped and of the names or manifestations under which he is worshipped: tōm at āhūriīh nāmēnī mazdāvarā spēntōtōmē yazamaidē ... tōm aṣāunām frauasīś ... yazamaidē, ‘him we worship (in) the names (of) Lord, Wisdom-choosing, Most Bounteous ... him we worship (in) the commitments of the followers of Right’.

56. The accusative is used in various adverbial expressions, perhaps a reflection of its general limiting function. It can express duration of time, as in 43. 2 vīspā aiiārē, ‘all days’ = ‘for ever’; analogously perhaps 34. 6 ahiīh aṣhōōuṣ vīspā maēbā, ‘through all the vicissitudes of this existence’. A different sort of idiomatic use is seen in 30. 2 vīcībahiīh narēm narēm x‘aṣiīiā tānuūiē, ‘of the decision (made) man by man for his own person’.

18 On the grammar of this difficult sentence cf. the full discussion in Hintze (2007), 177–86.
57. A neuter adjective in the accusative singular may have adverbial value. 20
28. 1 paouruüm ‘firstly, in the first place’ (cf. 43. 8, 11; 51. 2); 28. 3 apaour-
uuum ‘as never before’; 45. 1 daibiitüm ‘a second time’; 34. 6 haiitüm ‘in truth’;
34. 9 maś ‘greatly, a great distance’ (cf. perhaps 32. 3); 31. 17 maziiō ‘more’;
28. 5 mazistīm ‘most fully’; 30. 3 eras ‘rightly’ (cf. 30. 6; 44. 1); 31. 20 aparēm
‘afterwards’; 30. 4 apēmem ‘finally’ (cf. 48. 4; 51. 14); 51. 1 vahīstōm ‘best’; YH
41. 4 daregōm ‘for long’.

Accusative with appositives

58. Verbs of motion towards are sometimes reinforced with the preverb ā,
with the destination in the accusative, as in 28. 3 ā moī … zaauōng jasatā,
‘come (to) my calls’; 30. 6 hiiaṭ īś ā dobaomā … upā jasaṭ, ‘because delusion
comes upon them’; 33. 7 ā mā idūm, ‘come to me’; 43. 10 īṭ ā <a>-ram, ‘I have
started towards it’; 44. 11 kaṭā tōng ā vijēmiiāt ārmaitis? ‘how might piety
spread to them?’, cf. 48. 11.

In these cases it is more natural to regard the ā as belonging with the verb
than as a pre- or postposition conditioning the accusative. But it appears rather
in the latter function in 33. 5 apānō daragō jiiātīm ā xābram Vajhōus Maṇanuḥō,
‘after reaching the long life, the realm of good thought’; 44. 13 kaṭā drujoṃ niś
ahmaṭ ā nāśamā, tōng ā auūā, yōi …, ‘how are we to drive Wrong out from our-
selves down upon those who …’; 44. 14 ā īś duuaafōng … nāśe, ‘to bring pains
upon them’; 46. 8 paiteiaogōt ā ahmāi jasoīt duuaēsāyā, tanuūōm ā, ‘may (his
actions) recoil on him with hostility, on his person’. In 30. 2 it is apparently
placed initially with the verb and repeated with the noun: ā vaenatā sūcā ma-
naṇṇā ā varanā, ‘behold with lucid mind the two choices’.

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

ōōmē ‘along, among, throughout’: 32. 16 hiiaṭ aēnajhē drogoatō ōōmē
iśtēng aɣhaitā, ‘whatever is for the wrongful one’s hurt, I will set in place(?)
throughout the desirable people’. 21

paite ‘at, to’, as preverb with a verb of motion: 44. 12 yō mā drogūa ōbā
sauūa paite ierētē ciyaqat, ‘the wrongful one who takes pleasure in opposing (lit.
going at) thy gains’; 49. 11 at duuśxādrōng … akāiś xꞌarēdāiś paite uruq своей
yein-tī, ‘the souls come to the ill-dominioned with foul food’.

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

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

20 Cf. Delbrück i. 610–14.
21 Reading ɣyhaitā (causal of əh-; subjunctive with disyllabic -ō).
59. With a nominative and an accusative one can give a basic, one-dimensional representation of an event or situation: the priest has killed the cow; the student goes to university. The instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, and locative cases each provide different means of filling out the picture with circumstantial detail.

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

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

60. **Instrumental of means**: 28. 5 anā ṁadā ... vāurōimaidi xrastrā hizuā, ‘with this prescript we might convince the predators with our tongue’; 28. 9 anāiš vā nōt ... vānāiš zaranaēmā, ‘by these prayers may we not anger you’; 28. 10 aēibiō parenā āpanāiš kānem, ‘fulfil their desire with attainments’; 29. 1 aḍā [mōi] sāstā vohū vāstriā, ‘so show yourselves through good pasturing’; 29. 5 aṭ vā ustāniš a huuā zastāiš frīnomnā Ahurāiā, ‘but we two are there pro-pitiating the Lord with outstretched hands’; 30. 2 sraotā gūsāiš, ‘hear with your ears’; 31. 3 tā nō ... vaocā hizuā ōsahitiā ājhō, ‘tell us that with the tongue of thy mouth’; 32. 10 vaēnāpēh ... aṣibiā, ‘to behold with the eyes’; 32. 12 yōi gēus mōrenden uruūaš.xuṭ jītōtum, ‘who pervert the cow’s life with the cry “Get going!”’; 31. 1 yōi uruūaṭaś Drūjō Aṣhaṭiā gaētā vi.maraṇcaṭtē, ‘who with the rules of Wrong destroy Right’s flock’; 32. 1 yezi aṣā nōt uruūane ad-uuā aibī.deraštā vaxiāi, ‘if through these (words) the better way is not in plain view to the soul’; 31. 18 aḍā iš sādūm snaibīśa, ‘so cut them down with axe’; 33. 3 vidās vā ḍhāxšaŋhā gauuoi, ‘or tending the cow with care’, cf. 46. 12; 34. 13 tōm aduuānōm ... daēnā saośiṭānām vā ... uruūaśaṭ, ‘that road by which the Promoters’ moral selves advance’, cf. 51. 16; 43. 11 hītāt xšmā uvdāiš didaiṇhē, ‘because I am learning through your utterances’; 43. 4 vā da aṣā ... ḍhahitiā garamā ṛdrō, ‘the rewards that thou givest by means of thy fire’s heat’, cf. 51. 9; 49. 1 aṭ mā yauuā bēndukuo pafre, ‘the polluter(?) has fed himself full on my life’; 51. 1 vi.ḍīšemnāi ṭjācit, ‘certainly for one liberal with libation’; 51. 22 tā yazā

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Nouns and Adjectives

xvaiš nāmōniš, ‘them I will worship using their own names’; 53. 5 vaĕdōdum daēnābiš … ahūm vē vapēhuš manañhō, ‘be acquiring by your moralities the life of good thought’; 53. 8 rāmaṃcā āiš dadātū, ‘and let peace thereby be established’; YH 36. 3 hīata vē toī nāmanām vāziśtaṃ, … tā ḫōṃ pairi, jasāmaide, ‘or whatever is thy preferred(?) name, with that we attend thee’, cf. 36. 1, 4/5; 39. 5.

61. Instrumental of cause: 31. 20 tēṃ vē ahūm … šīiaōdnaśī xvaiš daēnā naēṣaṭ, ‘that is the existence to which, on account of your own actions, your morality will bring you’; 32. 3 šītaomāṃ api daibītāṇa, vāiš asrūdūm, ‘your duplicitous deeds too, because of which you became renowned’, cf. 32. 11; 33. 7; 32. 7 aēṣaṃ aēnayhaṃ … vāiš srāvaù xvēnā aīaṅha, ‘of those offences on account of which one is tried by means of the glowing metal’, cf. 32. 12; 34. 9 vaēhuš awaiśī manañhō, ‘from non-acquisition of good thought’; 34. 14 tā zī … vairīṃ astuavitē utṣānāī dātā vaēhuš šīiaōdāna manañhō, ‘for that is the prize ye will bestow on material life on account of enactment of good thought’, cf. 45. 5; 47. 1; 46. 2 mā kammaṃśuva, ‘(I am ineffectual) because of my poverty in cattle’; 46. 4 xvaiš šīiaōdāna asrūmsta, ‘disagreeable because of his deeds’; 49. 4 xaēṣaṃ niōt huuaraṅśaīś vās duēžuaraṅṣa, ‘because of whose not doing-good-deeds the ill deeds prevail’; 51. 15 tā vē … sawaiś ceuuīśī, ‘these (laudations) were assigned to you because of your power to strengthen’; YH 40. 1 rāītī ātī xrapaiṭī, ‘because of (our) offering it will befit thee (to grant our prayer)’.

62. Instrumental of agency, with passive verbs and participles: 29. 4 yā zī vāuurezōī pariī ciività daēuuaśīcā maśīiāścā, ‘those things done in the past by Daevas and mortals’; 30. 1 yā raocēbiś darasati uruuāzā, ‘the joys beheld by the light’; 34. 1 aēṣaṃ tōī … ōhmā pourutomāś dastē, ‘of these is offering made thee by us in great numbers’; 43. 10 parśtōm zī ḫōṃ, ‘the question asked by thee’; 44. 8 yācā Vohū uvdā … Manañhā yācā Asā, ‘and the words spoken by Good Thought and those (spoken) by Right’, cf. 43. 11; 48. 1; 53. 8 huuxādrāiś jēnaṃraṃ xṛuṛeram, ‘by good rulers let them be beaten and bloodied’.

With non-passive verbs: 44. 3 kō yā mā uviśeiti, ‘who is it through whom the moon waxes?’, cf. 44. 5; 50. 5 ārōī zī xšmā … hīaṭ …, ‘for it is established by you that …’, cf. 34. 3; 53. 9 duēžuareṇaśī vaēṣō rāṣī, ‘at the hands of ill-choosers decay takes hold’; YH 41. 4 aēṣaīcā ḫōṃ ēmāuanaṭascā būtiṃā, ‘may we become potent and strong through thee’.

63. Instrumental of attendant circumstance: 43. 2 ciività … vaēhuš maśīa manañhō vispā aīaṅrō darogō jījātīōs uruuādaṃhā, ‘understanding the transforming powers(?) of good thought all his days, with enjoyment of long life’; 44. 15 hīaṭ hēṃ spāda anaocahā jamaṛētē awaiśī uruuātaiś, yā tuī … didareṭō, ‘when the two hostile armies meet on those terms which thou wouldst uphold’; 44. 19 erēžuxdā, ‘on agreed terms’, ‘when it been agreed’; 50. 7 sawuśtiēōg uruuatō jaiīaś parabūś, ‘the swiftest steeds, wide with victories (? = widely victorious)’. So perhaps 43. 4 ḫōṃhiś ērōmen ābrō aṣā aoeṇhō,
‘by the heat of thy fire that is mighty with (or through) Right’, cf. 43. 16; 44. 2 ašā špontō, ‘liberal with Right’; 51. 21 špontō huuō cistī, uxdāiš, šiąođnājī, ‘he is liberal by insight, words, deed’; 43. 6 mazdā xšārdā, ‘mindful in dominion’, cf. 45. 9; 47. 1. Many further passages containing ašā might be assigned to this category.

Of mental or moral state or disposition: 28. 1 yasia nemanha, ‘I pray in reverence’, cf. 34. 3, 50. 6, 51. 20; 29. 6 viduwa vafšī viiānarti, ‘knowing the designs in his wisdom’, cf. 44. 7; 34. 8 tāis zī nā šiąođnājī šiianhti … bāshāi̇ti … asta uruū̇ati̇ti, ‘for by those actions they intimidate us in hatred of thy law’; 44. 11 vISPāng anii̇ng mainii̇ng spāsīti̇ duuaei̇ṅha, ‘all others I regard with hostility of spirit’; 46. 6 rasanā juuaś, ‘living in rectitude’.

Of mental faculties shaping perceptions: 31. 8 at bāšā mōjhī … yazūm stōi mana$ṅha, ‘I think of thee as being young in my thought’; 34. 15 fraśām vasaṇā … ahūm, ‘the existence that is splendid in my desiring’, cf. 46. 19.

64. Sociative-comitative: 30. 8 taibii̇o xśāṙm Vohu Mananhā viiuṅdāite, ‘for thee, together with Good Thought, will be found dominion’; 31. 4 yadā Aṣām zuuum aʃhōn Mazdāsċ Ahu̇rāphō Aṣiċ Ārmaitī, ‘when Right and Mazdā and the Lords are to be invoked with Reward and Piety’, cf. 33. 7; 32. 11 yōi druguu̇nto mazbiš cikōtoraś, ‘the wrongful who together with the graṅdees have distinguished themselves’; 33. 3 yē ašā̇me vahišṭō x̄ai̇tū vā at vā vīezō̇n̄i̇tī arii̇an̄na vā, ‘he who is best to the righteous one, whether with his clan or as a villager or with his tribe’; 34. 6 yezi aštā sātā hai̇tīm, Mazdā Aṣā Vȯhu Mananhā, ‘if ye are truly thus, O Mazdā with (= and) Right (and) Good Thought’, cf. 34. 5; 46. 18; 50. 5, 7, 9; 51. 3, 15,23 44. 20 aiėbi̇o kasm, vai̇š gəm Karaṗ Usixsċ aeshmāi̇ dātī, ‘for the sake of those in company with whom the Karpan and Usij put the cow to violence’; YH 40. 4; 46. 10 frō tāis vispāś Cin̄uu̇tō frā peretīm, ‘with all of them I shall cross the Arbiter’s Crossing’, cf. 46. 16; 46. 17 yē vi̇cin̄oq dāvomċ adāvomċ dangr̄ mantu Aṣā, ‘who discriminates between the just man and the unjust with his sage adviser Right’; perhaps 50. 10 at yā varasā … x̄mākāi Aṣā vahmāi, Mazdā, ‘whatever things I do … are for your lauding with Right (= and Right’s), Mazdā’; YH 38. 2 vapr̄hīm ābiś Aṣim, vapr̄hīm Is̄m … yazamaide, ‘besides them we worship good Reward, good Vigour …’.

Of concord or union with: 28. 8 bā̇ś … yōm Aṣā vahiš̄tā hazaoš̄em, ‘thee that art concordant with best Right’, cf. 29. 7; 32. 2 Aṣā huś.hȧx̄a x̄ńuuentā, ‘friendly with Right the sunny’; 32. 16 hamām tāt vahiš̄tścit, ‘that is equal with the very best’; 34. 2 yėhi̇nt uruqū aš̄a hacait, ‘whose soul keeps company with Right’, cf. 43. 10, 12; 44. 10; 46. 1, 16; 31. 7 raoc̄bi̇ś rōi̇b̄en x̄adr̄a, ‘amenities combining with the daylight’; 46. 11 yūjōn Karpano Kā̄ uatai̇sċ ȧkā̄ś šiȧođn̄ais … maśi̇m, ‘the Karpans and Kavis yoke the mortal with (= to) bad deeds’, cf. 49. 9 aš̄a yuxtā ‘yoked with Right’; 46. 16 yadr̄a Aṣā

23 On these passages cf. Risch (1964), 57–61; Kellens–Pirart ii. 50–2.
hacaitē Ārmaitiṣ, 'where Piety keeps company with Right'; 48. 11 kōi druguūdebiś xrūrāṣ rāṃṇm dānte? ‘which men will make peace with the savage wrongful ones?’; 49. 5 yē daēṇṇm vohū sāṛṣṭā mananṭā, ‘who unites his moral self with good thought’, cf. 32. 2; 49. 9 sarēm ... druguūṭā, ‘union with the wrongful one’.

Of speaking or concurring with: 31. 12 aḥrā vācām baraiti mīγah.uuacā vā vaṣānuuacā vā ... aḥtiā zereḍācā mananḍācā, ‘there it may be one of false words or one of true words who makes speech with that man’s heart and mind’; ibid., Ārmaitiṣ mainṭū peraṣaiṭe, ‘Piety debates with the will’; 44. 12 kā aṣauua, vaṅiḥ paresai? ‘who is righteous (of those) with whom I debate?’; 49. 2 naēdā Vohū ... fraṣṭā Mananṭā, ‘nor has he taken counsel with Good Thought’, cf. 45. 6; 47. 3, 51. 11; 53. 3 aḍā hēṃfrahīs [ḥṛṣ] xraḥṣa, ‘so take counsel with thy reason’.

65. Intermediate between the modal and the sociative instrumentals is the usage with i- or gam- where the meaning is ‘come with’ in the sense of ‘come bringing’: 30. 7 ahmācā xṣaḍrā jasāt mananṭā vohū aṣācā, ‘but suppose one comes with dominion for him, with good thought and right’; 49. 11 akāiś xareṭaǐś paiti uṛuṇṇā yeiṇtī, ‘the souls come to them with foul food’; 51. 10 maitiiḥ zaiiṭā Aṣom vanhuiiṭ aṣṭi gatē, ‘for myself I will call upon Right to come with the good reward’. Similarly 46. 3 kadā ... yōi uṣāṁo aṣṇam ... frō aṣaiiṭā āroṇṭe verezdaǐś sṛṅgaǐś, ‘when will those Oxen of Days set forth on the path of right with stouter declarations?’

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

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

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

68. Instrumentals in any function may be a diminutive: 28. 1 aḥtiā yāṣā ... raṇḍatīṭhi ... śīiātnā, Vajhōuṣ xratīt Mananṭā yā xinauuiiṣā, ‘I pray for his help by means of an action through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought’s purpose’; perhaps 29. 2 yō druguūdebiś aṣeṃom vaidāićīt, ‘who might repulse violence (committed) by the wrongful’ (unless it is ‘together with the wrongful’); 29. 11 ḍhmā rāṭoįś, ‘liberality by us’; 31. 19 ḍhrā aḥrā suxrā

24 Cf. RV 4. 53. 7 kṣapābhīr āhāhiṣ ca, ‘night and day’; Delbrück i. 245 f.; Brugmann (1902) §545(b); Hirt vi. 34; Krahe 98 f. The adverb fraṇṭiuii ‘daily’ (32. 14) shows an instr. ending.
... vi./datā, ‘at the allocation by means of thy flaming fire’, cf. 51. 9; 33. 8 utai-uitī hauruvatās, ‘health with vitality’; 33. 12 vaŋhiitā zauuō ādā, ‘promptness with good allocation’; 34. 4 zestāiśtāi šeṣeṣaeraṇaṇaḥ, ‘a manifest harm by main force’; 44. 17 sarōī ... hauruvatā amaratātā, ‘for union with health and non-dying’; 47. 2 hizwA uxdaīś ... zestōibītā śiiaōdna, ‘by utterances with the tongue ... by action with the hands’; 48. 12 šiiaōdnaś aśā, ‘by actions (done) with right’; YH 40. 3 nerāś ... ahmāraṇaṇaḥ, ‘men who have support by us’.

69. A good example of multiple instrumentals in one sentence is 43. 6,

\[
yahmi spentā ōbā maintī ururuāesē jasō,
mazdā xšaṛā, ahmī Vohū Manahā,
\]

at the bend where thou comest with thy bounteous will,

mindful in dominion, at that (bend) with Good Thought,

by whose actions the flock prospers with right, ...

Instrumental with appositives

70. The sociative instrumental is sometimes reinforced with mat ‘together with, beside’: 32. 1 verazānam mat airtiaman, ‘the village with the tribe’; 34. 11 Aśā mat Ārmaitīś, ‘Piety together with Right’; 43. 14; 44. 7; 45. 9; 46. 19; 48. 11; 50. 8 mat vā padaiś yā frasrūtā tžaiiā pairi jasāi ... ustānaṇastō, apparently ‘together with what are known as the Footsteps of Libation I will approach you with outstretched hands’.

Similarly with hadā ‘with’: 29. 2 hadā vāstrā gaodāiō ōbaxšō, ‘cattle-tending (lies) with the pastor’; perhaps 46. 17 hadā vā stōr26 vahmēng sraośā rādaṇḥō, ‘so that there are for you, besides compliance, praises of the Caring One’; 50. 4 at vā yazāi stauas, Mazdā Ahurā, hadā Aśā Vahiśtacā Manahā, ‘I will worship you with praise, Lord Mazdā, (you) together with Right and Best Thought’ (cf. §122).

And with haḍrā ‘with’: 28. 4 yā ururuānom mēn gairē vohū daḍā haḍrā ma-nahā, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought’; YH 38. 1 imaṃ āat zam ganābiś haḍrā yazamaide, ‘this Earth together with its Dames we worship’.

parē ‘beyond’ is construed with the instrumental in 34. 5 parē vā vispāiś vaοxma daevoaścā xrastrāiś māśiiaścā, ‘we have declared you (to be) beyond all predators, both Daevas and mortals’. It is not obvious what function of the instrumental this relates to, but the usage is paralleled with Vedic parās.

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

25 But with sarō the genitive is more often used, cf. §99.
26 vē stōi is my emendation for the manuscripts’ vēstā or vīstā.
71. The dative expresses orientation: the person to whom, or thing to which, something is present, or available, or advantageous or disadvantageous, or apparent, or directed; or the purpose towards which some action is aimed.

72. Dative of interest (advantage, disadvantage, possession, etc.): 28. 3 yaēibīō xṣādrāmca ayāzmoaumawm varadaiī ārmaitiš, *(you) for whom piety augments unimpaired dominion too*, or ‘whose unimpaired dominion too piety augments’; 28. 8 vahīstam ūḥa ... yāsā vāmūś naruī Frašaostrāi maibiācā, *(for) the best (gift) I pray thee longingly for the manly Frashaushtra and myself*; 28. 10 aēibīō peronā āpanāiš kānem, ‘fulfil their desire with attainments’; 29. 1 kahmāi mā ūḥarōzdūm? ‘for whom did you shape me?’, cf. 29. 6; 29. 2 kaṭā tōī gauuōī ratuś? ‘how (was) thy judgment for the cow?’; 29. 5 nōīt ṭrēž-jiiōī frajīiatiš, nōīt ṣṭuiīntē? ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stock-raiser?’; 29. 7 kasē ... yā ī dāiīāt ēouvāu maretaiēbiō, ‘who is there for thee who could establish those things for mortals?’; 30. 11 hīiātācā darāgōm dreguuōdobiō raśō sauucā aṣauuabiō, ‘the lasting harm that is for the wrongful, and the blessings for the righteous’, cf. 31. 3; 31. 4 iśasa ... maibiō xṣādrām ajōjhuuāt, ‘I shall seek a strong authority for myself’; 31. 6 ahmāi aḥhaṭ vahīstam, yā ..., ‘it will go best for him who’; 31. 10 at ī āiīa fraa-uuaretā vāstrōm aśīīū ... ahurem, ‘but she of these two chose for herself the herdsman as lord’, cf. 46. 3; 31. 15 yā māeniš, yā dreguuāītē xṣādrām hunātī, ‘what the punishment (is for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 32. 10 yasēcā vādaro vōīzdaṭ aśūnē, ‘and he who raises a weapon against the righteous one’; 33. 1 ʃiaobnā razīštā dreguuataēcā hīiātācā aśūnē, ‘by action most just both for the wrongful one and as regards the righteous’; 34. 8 ʃiaobnāis ... yaēsū as pairī pourubīō iβījeō, ‘by their actions, in which there was danger for many’; 44. 4 kā vātāi dwuunmaibiisacā yaaqgōt āsī? ‘who yoked the swift pair (of steeds) for the wind and clouds?’; 46. 11 Drūjō domānāi astaiō, ‘as guests (destined) for the house of Wrong’; 46. 13 ahmāi gaēbā Vohū frādaṭ Mananjḥā, ‘for him the flock (= his flock) he promotes with Good Thought’; 49. 2 nōīt spenṭam dōrašt ahmāi stōī ārmaitiš, ‘he has not embraced bounteous Piety (so as for her) to be his’; 50. 3 aṭcīt ahmāi ... aḥhaiti, yam hōi ... cōišt, ‘yet his will be (the cow) which one assigns to him’; 53. 5 tāt zī hōi hušēnom aḥhaṭ, ‘for that will be profitable for him’; 53. 6 nāsaṭ xṣādrōm dreguuōdobiō dōīt arataēbiō, ‘well-being is lost for the wrongful diminishers of right’; YH 36. 1 yā a aṭtī ahmāi, ‘which is torment for him’.

73. The dative of interest is used of a person to whom someone comes bringing benefit or the opposite: 29. 3 vahmāi sauǔōn (acc.) jīma, ‘to whose calls I will come’; 43. 4 hīaṭ mōī vānḥōuś hazā jimaṭ manānḥō, ‘when the force of

27 Spiegel §§320–4; Delbrück i. 277–306; Reichelt §§457–71; Kellens–Pirart ii. 20–30; Skjærvø 110 f.
good thought comes to me’, cf. 43. 12; 44. 16; 44. 1 yaddā nā ā Vohū jimāt Manāghā, ‘so that it will come to us with Good Thought’, cf. 46. 3; 44. 11 yaēi-biō ... ūbōi vaštīte daēnā, ‘to whom thy religion issues forth’; 46. 8 paitiiaogot tā ahmāi jasōīt duuaēšaŋhā, ‘may they recoil on him with hostility’; 49. 1 gađī mōi, ā mōi rapā, ‘come to me, support me’. Note that the dative is not used of going ‘to’ a place, and these examples are not to be so understood.

74. Of attitudes towards someone: 29. 3 aduaēšō gau∂ōi, ‘not hostile to the cow’; 29. 7 huōu uršaēibīō spoṭō, ‘he is bounteous to the needy’; 31. 1 yōi rrazdā aŋhōn Mazdā, ‘who will be faithful to Mazdā’; 31. 21 yōi ... ur-uaabō, ‘who is his ally’, cf. 51. 11; 33. 3 yā aśaunē vahišō, ‘he who is best to the righteous one’, cf. 45. 5; 43. 8 haitiō duuaēšā ... dreguuaētē, at aśaunē rafo-nō xiiēm aojōŋhuuμ, ‘may I be the true enemy of the wrongful one, but to the righteous a strong support’; 47. 4 aśaunē kāō ... akō dreguuaētē, ‘kind to the righteous one … malign towards the wrongful one’; 44. 7 uzomām ... pulrem piŋre, ‘the son respectful to the father’; 45. 11 yōi hōi arōm mainiiaτā, ‘who is properly disposed towards him’.

75. The enclitic dative pronouns mōi tōi hōi nā vā, placed after the first word or tonal unit in the clause, often serve to mark possession of something specified by a following noun, or personal interest in the predicate as a whole:28 29. 8 yō yō aēuuō sāmā guśatā, ‘who alone listens to our guidance’; ibid., hīiāt hōi hudumōm diīaī vaxēštāhīīa, ‘as I harness his well-constructed utterance’; 31. 6 yō mōi vīduuā vaocat haiśīm, ‘who, knowing it, speaks my truth’; 31. 11 hīiāt no. Mazdā, paouruūīm gaēbāscā taśō daēnaścā, ‘since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves’; 32. 2 spoṭām yā armatīm vaŋhīm varamai-dī; hā nē anŋhaτ, ‘your liberal piety, (as it is) good, we adopt; it shall be ours’; 32. 6 dēbahmī yō ... xśabrōi Aśaiecā śēnghō vī.ɗam, ‘in thy domain let your decree and Right’s be given out’; 34. 11 at tōi ubē hauruudsac ... amoraṭataścā, ‘both health and non-dying are thine’; 44. 17 hīiācā mōi xītag vaś vēšō, ‘and that my voice be effective’; 45. 5 yōi mōi ahmāi sraośem dān caiścā, ‘whatever people comply with it for me’, or ‘whatever people I get to comply with it’; 47. 3 at hōi vastrāi rāmā dā armatīm, ‘and for her pasture thou didst establish peace and piety’; 51. 2 tā vō ... dōiśā mōi iṣṭōiś xśabrēm, ‘so I will show you my command of competence’.

76. The dative of interest may be a dnominal: 28. 5 gātūmcā Ahurāī, ‘and (as) a path (or throne) for the Lord’; 30. 1 staotacā Ahurāī, ‘praises for the Lord’; 30. 2 viciibahiīa narōm narōm xāxitiīa tanuīīe, ‘of the decision (made) man by man for his own person’; 44. 2 irixtvm vīśpōibīō hāro, ‘observing the outcome for all’; 48. 8 aśōiś dēfaxiīa mabīiō, ‘of thy reward for me’; 51. 5 dābaei-biō erāśratūm, ‘the straight judgment (appointed) for the just’; 51. 14 gau∂ōi

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

77. The dative is used for the indirect object after verbs of giving, assigning, effecting: 28. 7 dādī tū ... Viṣṭāspūḥ tāṃ maibīcā, ‘give enablement to Viṣṭaṇspa and to me’, cf. 29. 10; 44. 14 kaβā Asūḥ Drūjīm diām zastaiiō, ‘how might I give Wrong into the hands (loc.) of Right (dat.)?’, cf. 30. 8; 31. 9 hiia tāiī dādā paṭām, ‘when thou didst offer her a path’; 43. 5 hiia tā ... akōm akāi, vaṭ’him asīm vaṇhauuē, ‘when thou didst set evil for the evil one, a good reward for the good’; 49. 7 yā vareznā vaṭ’him dāt frasastīm, ‘that will give the community a good renown’; 28. 8 vaebiācā ṭī rāṇhābhāi, ‘and those on whom thou wilt bestow it’; 31. 3 yām ... coiś rūnōibīa xśnūtām, ‘the atonement that thou didst assign to the two parties’, cf. 47. 6; 33. 2 at yā akom dreeuūtē ... vareṣāiū, ‘now he who does evil to the wrongful one’; 48. 5 yaozda ... zaṭām ... gauroi vareziitām, ‘let purification of breeding be effected for the cow’; YH 41. 1 stūtō garō vahnēng Ahurāi Madzādam cībhaicā ācā vaebdīiama, ‘praises, songs, laudations we dedicate and assign and proclaim to Lord Madzā’.

78. Likewise for the indirect object after verbs of speaking or showing: 29. 3 ahmai Aśa ... pait.macrauṭā, ‘to him Right will answer’, cf. 32. 2; 30. 1 yā mazda tī hiiaçit vīduuē, ‘things that you are to bring to the attention even of one who knows’; 31. 3 tāt nē ... vaocā, ‘tell us that’, cf. 44. 1; 31. 17 vīduuā vīduuē mraotū, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing’, cf. 43. 12; 53. 5; 32. 9 tā uxdā ... yūshmaibiā gerozē, ‘these words I utter in complaint to you’, cf. 29. 1; 44. 20 yacā Kauuā ṣmēnē urūdīiatā, ‘and the things the Kavi makes her lament to her soul’; 43. 8 at hōi aojī, ‘to him I say’; 33. 13 doisī mōi yā vā a bifrā, ‘show me the virtues(?) that are yours’, cf. 43. 10; 51. 2, 17.

79. Certain verbs that denote beneficial action take the dative: 29. 5 frīnāmi Ahurāi, ‘propitiating the Lord’, cf. 49. 12; 33. 3 vidēs vā ḥbxsautā gauroi, ‘or by tending the cow with care’, cf. 51. 6, 53. 4; 33. 11 sraotā mōi, ‘hear (my prayer) for me, have mercy on me’; 43. 9 kahmi vīnūduiē vāsī? ‘whom do you wish to serve?’; 49. 1 gaidī mōi, ‘mōi rapā, ‘come to me, support me’; 50. 5 hiia yūsmākā mābrēnē vaorēzābā, ‘that you will be benign towards your prophet’; 51. 6 yasca hōi vārāi rādāt, ‘and whoever will be prompt to his will’, cf. 33. 2.

80. Dative of the observer from whose viewpoint something is seen: 31. 2 uruūnē ... aibī.deroṣṭā, ‘in plain view to the soul’; 31. 22 cibī i hudānhe yadnā vaebdōmnāi manaṭhā, ‘these things are clear to the well-doer as he apprehends them in his mind’; 43. 11 sādrā mōi sas maśiiaēsū zrađaṭīs, ‘trust in mortals seems to me grief’; 46. 19 tācī mōi sas tuuēm ... vaebdīstō, ‘of those things thou appearest to me the best provider’.

With a verbal adjective of passive sense it becomes in effect a dative of the agent: 29. 8 aem mōi idā vistō, ‘this man here (has been) found by me’;
31. 1 aguštā vacā sēnhāmahī aēibiō yōi …, ‘we proclaim words unheeded by those who …’ (rather than ‘we proclaim unheeded words to those who’); cf. 43. 12.29

81. In the usages described in §§72–80 the dative practically always refers to a person or persons. It is otherwise with the d a t i v e  o f  p u r p o s e : 28. 3 à mōi rafeōrāi zauoŋg jasatā, ‘come to my calls, for (= to give) support’, cf. 33. 13, 54. 1; 28. 4 yō uruuanām mōn gairē … dade, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song’; 29. 11 at mām … mazōi magaīiū paitīzānata, ‘acknowledge me for the great rite’, cf. 46. 14; 31. 16 huuō yō … frađāiiūi spərezață, ‘he who is eager for the furtherance’, cf. 45. 9; 31. 19 arož uxōiū vacaŋhām xʃaiamnō hizuțiū, ‘being master of his tongue for true voicing of words’; 34. 11 at tői ubē hauruuăscă xərađiiuă ameretatașcă, ‘both health and non-dying are thine for nourishment’; 44. 17 saroī buʒdiiűiū, ‘to work for union’; 46. 1 kqm namoi ẑam, kuβrā namoi aiieni? ‘what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge?’; 46. 3 kada … yōi uxšānō aṣnām aŋhūu dandraŋhā frō … aɾante? ‘when will those Oxen of Days come forth for the upholding of existence?’; ibid., maibiiū ôša saŋtīr vəraŋe, ‘for myself I choose thee for direction’; 46. 7 hiiat mā draguău didarəsata ąənajhē, ‘when the wrongful one seeks to seize me for maltreatment’, cf. 32. 16; ibid., təm mōi dəstuuqəm daęnaiiiū frąuaocă, ‘tell forth that information for my moral guidance’; 47. 3 at hōi vástrāi rəmā də ārmaiitım, ‘and for her pasture thou didst establish peace and piety’; 50. 7 mahmāi xiitā auuəŋhê, ‘may you be (there) for my succour’; 50. 10 at yā vərəš ā ... xšmākāi Aša vakmaīiū, ‘whatever things I do ... are for your lauding with Right’, cf. 46. 10; 53. 2 scaŋtii ā ... xšnūm Mazdā vəhəmaiiū frəorət, ‘let them accord in what gratifies Mazdā devotedly (with devotion) to his praise’; YH 36. 2 vətiiiiū pai-iijamiiu ... mazištii yəŋhəm paiti-jamiiū, ‘for our supplicating mayest thou come ... for our greatest of supplications mayest thou come’; 40. 3 daidii at nəɾqš ... dəraŋgāi ʰziiiiū bezuuəiitə həxmaini āhmaibiitiiū, ‘grant (us) men for enduring, nourishing, solid association with us’.

82. In several of the above examples we have a d o u b l e  d a t i v e , one of interest, the other of purpose: 28. 3; 33. 13; 34. 11; 46. 3; 47. 3; 54. 1 à Air-iimāi ... rafeōrāi jantii nərebiiașcă nəriəbıścă Zaraβuṣtrəhá, ‘let Aryaman come for (= to give) support for the men and women of Zarathushtra’.

83. A particular idiom that belongs here is the use of dā- in the middle voice with accusative object and dative of purpose: 29. 5 hiiat Mazdəm duuaiddi frəsə- biüiū, ‘as we two set Mazdā to (our) questions’, i.e. question him; 43. 7 kəbā aitərō daxsaɾa frasa̱iiiū diʃaʔ; ‘could you set a day for asking information?’; 44. 20 yaiš gəm Karępə ʰUsixscă aęšmāii dātii, ‘with whom the Karpan and the Usij put the cow to violence’; 46. 8 yə və mōi yə gaēbə dazde ənajhē, ‘or the one who is putting my flock to maltreatment’; 46. 18 yə nə ʰstii daiditiiū, ‘who would

29 Cf. Delbrück i. 300; Brugmann (1902) §554; Benveniste 177–86; Skjærvø 111.
subject us to (acts of) hatred'; YH 36. 1 ahmāi yēm axtōiiōi dā NDPē, ‘for him whom thou puttest to torment’.

84. Related to the dative of purpose is the temporal use in the phrase vispā yauuē (28. 8; YH 40. 2; 41. 2) or yauuōi vispā (46. 11), ‘for all time’; likewise 28. 11 yauuētātē, ‘for eternity’. Cf. YH 35. 3 yā hātqam šītaōḏenam qal vištā xiīat ubōbiiat ahuubiiā, ‘which may be the best of actions in the world for both existences’, cf. 35. 8; 38. 3; 40. 2; perhaps 34. 5. kaṭ vē xšādram, kā īṣtiš šītaōḏnāi?, ‘what is your power, what your ability for action?’

85. Untypical uses of the dative are: 46. 10 aṣīm aṣāi, ‘reward for right’ (for normal gen., cf. §100); 51. 3 yōi vē šītaōḏnāiš sārēntē, ‘who by their actions are uniting with you’ (for normal instr.); YH 40. 3 haxmainē ahmaibiiā, ‘association with us’ (for expected instr.).

For dative infinitives see §§194–204.

Ablative

86. The ablative marks that from which there is movement or separation, or something derives; or a reference point from which something is measured or considered. It occurs predominantly with singular nouns.

87. Ablative of separation. (a) Where motion is involved: 32. 4 vanhōuś sīḍdiāmmā manan̄hō, Mazdā Ahurahiiā xratōūs nasīanto Aṣiātcā, ‘retreating from good thought, losing the way from Lord Mazda’s sapience and from Right’, cf. 34. 9; 32. 15 tōi ābiīā bairiāntē Vānhōuś a damānē Manan̄hō, ‘they will be borne away from them both into the house of Good Thought’; 45. 1 yaecā asnāt yaecā duṟāt išātā, ‘you who come eagerly from near and far’; 46. 4 yas.tōm xšādṛāt ... moītāt jiṭātāuν vā, ‘whoever dispatches him from authority or from life’, cf. 53. 9; 46. 5 uz.ūbdiiōi îm ... ḫrūntiāt, ‘to help him escape from bloodshed’.

(b) Where no motion is involved: 34. 8 aēbiīō duisible vohū as manō, ‘from them good thought was far away’. Especially of keeping apart: 32. 5 tā dabonatoa maśīm hujītāoīs amare<ta>tārāscā, ‘so you mortal out of good living and security from death’; 32. 11 yōi vihastāt ašānuo ... rāraśītān manan̄hō, ‘who will divert the righteous from best thought’, cf. 32. 12; 47. 4; 49. 2; 32. 13 yō 侵犯 dasrašā aṣahiiā, ‘which will keep them from the sight of Right’, cf. 46. 4, 8; 44. 4 kas.nā deratā zamcā adā nabāscā uuupastōiš? ‘who held the earth from beneath, and the sky from falling?’; 33. 4 yā ḫpāt ... asɾuṣ-tīm ... yazāi apā ... gūsca vāṣrāt aṣiṣtem maṇtim, ‘I that will seek by worship (to keep) disregard away from thee ... and from the cow’s pasture the worst

30 Spiegel §§325–30; Delbrück i. 200–17; Reichelt §§472–85; Kellens–Pirart ii. 36–9; Skjærmo 112 f.
31 Cf. Delbrück i. 182.
counsellor'; 46. 1 pairī x’aētēuš aiiiaiiaiiiiii dadatī, ‘they set (me) apart(?) from clan and tribe’; 49. 3 antārā vispōng druguato haxmōng mruiiē, ‘I ban all wrongfull ones from my company’.

88. Ablative of source: 32. 3 Akāt Manahō stā ciitram, ‘you are seed (sprung) from Evil Thought’; 34. 2 atcā ī toi mananרī mainiāušcā vanhōuš vispā dātā spoantāxtiīcā norē śitaōthā, ‘they are all dedicated to thee by the thought (instr.) and out of the good intent (abl.) and by the deed (instr.) of a liberal man’; 34. 13 daēnā saoshiāntām yā ... āsācīt (v.l. āsācit) uruāxsāt hiiat cūuištā hudābiiō mīždām, ‘(the road) on which the Promoters’ moral selves advance from Right itself to the reward ye assigned to well-doers’; 51. 12 caratascā aodaraścā zōišenū, ‘trembling from the journey and the cold’.

89. Ablative of comparison or contrast: 43. 3 vanhōuš vahiō, ‘better than good’; 51. 6 vahiō vanhōuš ... akāt āsīō, ‘better than good ... worse than bad’; 29. 1 xismat antiō, ‘other than you’, cf. 34. 7; 45. 11; 46. 7; 50. 1; 51. 10; 32. 12 yaiś grēhmā āsāt verāt Karpā, ‘with whom the Karpan chooses gluttony(?) over right’.

90. Ablative of reference: 28. 10 yōng Ašātcū vōistā vanhōušcā dāōng mananṛō, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright from (the standpoint of) right and good thought’; 31. 15 pasūsū vīrātcū adrujiianō, ‘innocent before man and beast’; 46. 5 yō vā xšaiça ā dām drītā aiiaantām uruātōiś vā ... miitro- bīō vā, ‘or a man who on his own authority should take into his house one coming on the basis of a promise or agreements’; 51. 14 nōīt uruābō dāōi- biiascū Karpānō vāstṛāt arēm, ‘the Karpans are not fit allies from (the standpoint of your) ordinances and the pasture’.

Ablative with appositives

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

āibī: in YH 35. 5 and 40. 1 the phrase ahamat hiiat āibī evidently means ‘insofar as comes from us’, i.e. depends on us. In 35. 10 staotāiś ḍbāi ... staotōiībiō āibī, ṻxōa ḍbāi ṻxōiībiō, yasna ḍbāi yasnōiībiō we may render ‘be it with praises where praises are (the point of departure =) concerned, or with utterances where utterance is concerned, or with act of worship where acts of worship are concerned’.

ā reinforces ablatives of more than one kind without, in many cases, any obvious modification of the sense. If its basic meaning is ‘forward, onward’, it may perhaps sometimes emphasize the idea of forward progression from the point of origin, ‘forth from’ as against simple ‘from’.

32 Cf. Delbrück i. 757.
With abl. of separation: 44. 13 *kaθa drujem niš* ahmat ǣ nāšānā? ‘how are we to drive wrong forth from ourselves?’

With abl. of source: 30. 10 at āśištā yaojantē ā huṣitoiś Vahhōuš Mananţhō, ‘and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked (to come forth) from the fair dwelling of Good Thought’; 31. 21 Mazdā dadāt ... būrōiś ā ... vāpaïtiitā xšaṭrahiiā, ‘Mazdā gives forth from the rich sovereignty of his domain’; 33. 5 Aṣāt ā orzuś pađō, ‘the straight paths (leading) from Right’; 33. 6 mainiūθuš ā vaḥiştāt kaiiă ahmāt, ‘(drawing) from this best will I desire’; 44. 1 taṭ ōrōiś ... nemanţhō ā, ‘this I ask thee out of reverence’; 45. 9 vaḥhōuš ... haoṣuubāt ā mananţhō, ‘out of familiarity with good thought’; 51. 4 kuḍrā ārōiś ā ḹ̣̄saraṭuš, kuḍrā manezdikā ā xśaṭ? ‘where will respect (?) appear out of (= to replace) harm, where mercy?’

In 48. 7 yōi ā Vahhōuš Mananţhō didravţōđutiiti, ‘you who wish to secure yourselves to Good Thought’, the ablative marks the point of attachment from which a connection is made.

In 31. 9 hiiat axiitāi dadā paθām vāstriiāt vā ā itē yē vā nōiṭ ahgaṭ vāštiiō, ‘when thou didst offer her (the cow) a path, to proceed either from the herdsman or (from him) who is not a herdsman’, the sense is ‘to be on the herdsman’s side, be associated with him’. Similarly 47. 5 Akāt ā siias Mananţhō, ‘abiding on the side of Evil Thought’; YH 39. 3 yōi Vahhōuš ā Mananţhō šieieitī, ‘those who abide on the side of Good Thought’.

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

parā ‘before’: 30. 2 parā mazō yāţhō, ‘before the great supplication’. This is perhaps in essence an ablative of comparison. The meaning of 53. 6 aītesē ḥaiiś piştō, tanuūō parā is obscure.

hacā ‘in accord with’, in line with': 28. 2 maiiūt dānuoi ... aīaptā āsāt hacā, ‘to give me blessings in line with Right’, cf. 27. 13; 29. 6; 31. 2; 43. 14; 45. 4; 46. 19; 47. 1; 51. 5, 22; 53. 1; YH 35. 10; 28. 11 frō mā sištā ḹ̣̄sahmāt vaocajhē mainiūθuš hacā, ‘teach me to voice (my hymns) in line with thy will’; 32. 2 aeihiiō Mazdā ... xšaṭrāt hacā paiitī.mraot, ‘to them Mazdā answers in accord with his authority’; 44. 17 *kaθa zaram carnāt* hacā xsmat? ‘how am I to reach my desire in accord with you?’; 53. 6 drūjō hacā rādamō, ‘a man attached to wrong’, cf. 44. 17; YH 37. 2 yōi gauuš hacā šieieitī, ‘who dwell in accord with the cow’. But a different sense must be sought in 31. 14 yā iṣudō daĊeitē dā-ṛaṇaṃ hacā aśāmō yāscā ... dṛgauiōdabiitī, ‘what requitals will be given for gifts from the righteous one and what (for gifts) from the wrongful one’.

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

**93. Genitive of ownership.**

28. 1 Vanhuš xratúm Manfhhō ... gōuścā uruuănem, ‘Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’; 31. 12 ahiiā zerēdācā manañhhacā, ‘through that man’s heart and thought’; 32. 12 gōuš ... jiōotū, ‘the cow’s life’; 43. 7 kahiiā ahī? ‘who do you belong to?’; 44. 3 ptā Ašahiā, ‘the father of Right’, cf. 46. 12; 47. 2, 3; 44. 3 xōng strēmcā dāt āduuānem, ‘set the path of the sun and the stars’; 46. 11 Čimuwtō paretū, ‘the Arbiter’s Crossing’; 49. 4 dręguwatō daēnā, ‘the wrongful one’s religion’, cf. 34. 13; 51. 13; 53. 2; 53. 1 vahiştā īštī śrāuū Zaraďštrahē, ‘best is the competence that became renowned as that of Zarathushtra’; 53. 7 mainiuš dręguwatō, ‘the wrongful one’s intent’.

Generally of relationships where something belongs to something or someone, is an inherent part, property, adjunct, etc.: 33. 4 xünsvtō nazdiştam drujam airianmascā nadentō, ‘and the village’s nearest (neighbour), wrong, and the detractors in the tribe’; 48. 10 saoštiantō dāxiunam, ‘the Promoters in the regions’; 50. 3 ašōiś aojahī, ‘by the strength of (= by virtue of) the reward’; 54. 1 norbhīascā nāiribiāscā Zaraďštrahē, ‘for Zarathushtra’s men and women’.

**94. A possessive adjective and a genitive may be used in parallel:** 29. 5 mō uruuā gōuścā aziā, ‘my soul and the milch cow’s’; 51. 13 xhiiā śitiaōdnāić hizuusacă, ‘through his own actions and his tongue’s’; YH 39. 1 ahmākēng ət urunō pasukanmcā, ‘our souls and those of the livestock’.

**95. Subjective genitive:** 33. 8 yasnm ... xśmawatō, ‘the worship of (= performed by) your follower’, cf. 29. 11; 44. 1; 46. 10; 34. 2 spantxiātīcā naraś śitiaōdnā, ‘and by the deed of a liberal man’, cf. 34. 10; 43. 6; 46. 15 dātāiś paouruiiāś Ahurahiīa, ‘by the Lord’s original ordinances’; 50. 8 arodriātīcā namanjhā, ‘and with a zealous man’s reverence’. Here may be placed the genitive found with berexōa- ‘esteemed (of)’: 32. 9 apō mō īštīm yanțā berexōam hātīm Vanhuš Manfhhō, ‘he takes away the potency that is esteemed of (by) Good Thought’, cf. 34. 9; 48. 6.

**96. Genitive of source.** Related to the subjective genitive is the type that indicates a source from which something comes: 28. 4 aśišcā śitiaōdananm
Nouns and Adjectives

viduś Mazdā, ‘and knowing Mazdā’s repays of actions’, cf. 54. 1; 28. 6
daibīšuatu duaaēsā, ‘the foe’s acts of enmity’; 31. 18 drequatu māqārscā ... 
sānnāscā, ‘the wrongful one’s prescripts and teachings’, cf. 32. 13; 32. 9 tā uxdā 
mainiīwus māhiīa, ‘these utterances of my will’; 34. 12 aśiś rāṣanm, ‘the rewards of (= stipulated by) thy rulings’; 43. 6 ratiw ... ṭābaḥiīa xraṭēus, ‘the verdicts of thy sapience’, cf. 46. 18, 49. 6; 43. 13 ariw ... kāhamiīa tōm mōi dātā, ‘the endeavours of (= springing from) the desire you have given me’; 44. 11 mainiīwus ... 
duuaēsaṃjha, ‘with hostility of spirit’; 45. 7 yehiīa sauva ... rādānho, ‘the Caring One whose strengthening powers’; 45. 8 satoātīs namahho, ‘with reverence’s (i.e. reverent) praises’, cf. 43. 9; 44. 10 ṣatuṭoś uxdās, ‘with pious words’, cf. 45. 10, 47. 2, 53. 3; 48. 5 vanchhiīa cistōiś śīaoṅnāiś, ‘with deeds of good insight’, cf. YH 36. 4; 48. 11 vanchhoś ... manahho cistōiś, ‘good thought’s insight’; 50. 10 raocā xōṃg, ‘the light of the sun’; 51. 18 hiit ... rāpōn tawā, ‘what is supportive from thee’; 53. 1 dāenaiś vanchhiīa uxdā śīaoṅnācā, ‘the Good Religion’s speech and conduct’.

97. Objective genitive: 28. 4 aēśe Aṣahīiā, ‘in search of Right’; 28. 9 
dasome stūqam, ‘in offering of praises’; 29. 2 taśi gōus, ‘the maker of the cow’; 31. 8 aṣahīiā dāqmim, ‘the creator of right’, cf. 34. 10; 30. 1 yesniicā Vanchhoś 
Manahho, ‘and worship of Good Thought’, cf. 51. 22; 31. 10 vanchhoś sēōhic 
manahho, ‘the cultivator of good thought’; 31. 15 hanaro ... vāstriiehtīa āēnah-
hō, ‘without mistreatment of the herdman’; 31. 19 orēxdā vacanham, ‘for true voicing of words’; 32. 11 raḥxnahho vaēdām, ‘possession of their inheritance’; 32. 13 daresē Aṣahīiā, ‘from the sighting of Right’; 33. 11 ādai kahiiācīt 
paiti, ‘at the allocation of whatever’; 34. 8 ṭābaḥiīa ... astā uruvāṭaḥiīa, ‘in hatred of thy law’; 34. 9 vanchhoś suustī manahho, ‘in their non-acquisition of good thought’; 43. 5 anhūḥ zādoī, ‘at the generation of the world’; 43. 14 sardānā sōṅghahitiā, ‘detractors of the law’; 46. 3 anhūḥ darbrā, ‘for the upholding of the world’; 46. 4 aṣahīiā vaṭdṛgōng, ‘bringers of right’; 46. 17 vahmōng ... rādān-
hō, ‘praises of the Caring One’; 48. 10 hamaestārō aēśmahiīiā, ‘smuters of violence’; 50. 6 ḍizūmō ratiwim stōi māhiīiā, ‘to be the charioteer of my tongue’; 50. 11 dātā anhūḥs, ‘the ordainer of the world’, cf. 44. 7; 51. 20 namah- 
hō Mazdā, ‘in reverence of Mazdā’; 53. 2 xśnūm Mazdā, ‘the gratification of Mazdā’, cf. 48. 12; 54. 1 vanchhūs rafoḍrāi manahho, ‘for the support of good thought’; YH 35. 2 humataṅm ḍuṅtanm ḍuṅtarstāṇam ... māhi aibijarṭārō; nāē naestārō yādentā vohunam māhi, ‘we are approvers of good thoughts, good words, good deeds ... we are not revilers of good things’; 35. 9 ṭāqam aṭ aēśam 
patitāstārēmcā fradaxstārēmcā dadomaidē, ‘we make thee both recipient and 
teacher of these (words)’.

98. Partitive genitive: 28. 1 ahiīa yāsā ... rafōḍraḥiīa ... vīspēng, ‘I pray 
you all for (some of) his support’; 29. 3 hāṭqam huukō aojīstō, ‘he is the mightiest of beings’, cf. 43. 2; 44. 10; 45. 6; 48. 3; YH 35. 3; 36. 2, 3, 6; 41. 2; 30. 5 aiiā 
mainiuatā veratā yā drequatu, ‘of these two Wills, the Wrongful one chooses’, cf. 
33. 9; 45. 2; 31. 10 aṭ ḍī aiiā frauvaratā vāstrīm, ‘but she of these two chose the
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herdsman'; ibid., nōit ... auuāstriō ... humeratöiš baxštā, 'the non-herdsman did not get a share in her goodwill'; 32. 8 gōus bagā, 'portions of the cow'; 33. 6 tā toi izziea ... darstöiscā hōm.parstöiscā, 'with that (mind) I long for (some) seeing and conferring with thee'; 34. 1 aēšam toi ... dastē, 'of these is offering made to thee'; 34. 12 kat vaśi, kat va stūto, kat va vasnihiāia? 'what dost thou wish, what of praise, or what of worship?', cf. 49. 12; 50. 1; 44. 15 kuṭrā aiiā, kahmāi vananām dadā? 'where between the two, to whom dost thou give the victory?'; 45. 2 anhōus ... paouruiē, 'at the world's beginning', cf. 44. 2; 45. 3; 50. 6 dāta xratōus ... raśēng vohū sāhiṭ manaṭhā, 'may the giver of wisdom teach me (something of) his regimen together with good thought'; 53. 7 būnōi haxtiāi, 'at the base of her thighs'; 35. 8 kahmāicīt hātām, 'for anyone of (living) beings', i.e. anyone in the world; 37. 2 yasnanām pauruuaṭāa, 'with primacy of rites', cf. 33. 14; 40. 2 ahiūt huuṭo nō dāḍi, 'grant us of it'.

Further examples that may be considered partitive are: 29. 3 auuaēšam nōit viduuiē, 'of these things there is not to know (= no knowing)'; 45. 8 Vahhōus Mainiitiōus śīaoṇdhitiāi uṣāxātićā vidūs, 'knowing (something) of the Good Will's deed and utterance', cf. 44. 8; 44. 13 asruṣṭöi śaṇanāḥ, 'full of non-compliance' (the contents of a full receptacle are drawn from a larger pool); 46. 3 kaḍā ... yöi uṣānō aṣnaṁ ... frō aṣhīṭā ahṛtē? 'when will those Oxen of Days come forth (somewhere on the path) of Right?'; 46. 4 at tōṅg dreguāu ... pāṅ gā frōratiōś soōṭrāhiāi vā daxiṭtiōs vā, 'but the wrongful one keeps those oxen from coming forth (anywhere) in district or region'; 46. 6 huuṭo tōṅg frō gā pāṁmāṅ ... caraṭ, 'he will take those oxen forward on the path'.

99. Defining or characterizing genitive: 28. 2 auhuā, astuwaćascā hitaṭcā manaṇāhō, 'the two existences, the corporeal one and that of thought', cf. 43. 3; 28. 8 vispāi yawe vahhōus manaṇāhō, 'for the whole lifetime of good thought', cf. 43. 1, 53. 5; 28. 9 iśō xšādṛōmcā sauwanām, 'your powers and domain are of strengths'; 29. 7 tōm izṭōīś ... maḍṛōm, 'that prescript concerning butter', cf. 31. 6; 31. 20 dargōṁ aiiu tomanāhō, 'a long age of darkness'; 34. 2 garōbīs stūṭam, 'with songs of praise'; 43. 2 dargōjiiṭtöi śaṇanādāḥ, 'with bliss of long life'; 46. 3 uṣānō aṣnaṁ, 'the Oxen of Days'; 46. 4 pāṁmāṅ hućcīṭōiś, 'the path of enlightenment', cf. 34. 12; 43. 3; 50. 4; 51. 13; 53. 2; 47. 4 kasaṭiśiṭ nā, 'even a man of little (property)'; 51. 21 armatōiś nā, 'a man of piety', cf. 46. 12, 49. 5; 48. 10 maṇarōiś narō, 'the men of Observance(?)'; ibid., muḍṛām ahiūt madahiiā, 'the piss of this liquor'; 50. 4 domānē garō, 'in the house of song'; 50. 7 zauuiśṭtīṅg auruuatuṭ ... vahmnāhīa yūśmākahuṭiā, 'the swiftest steeds, those of your laudation'; 50. 8 padāiś yā frasruṭā tūaiā, 'the “footsteps” known as (those) of libation'; 53. 8 dāreža maṛuṭiiaōs, 'with the fetter of death'; YH 36. 1 ahiūt ... aōrō veeṣānā, 'with this fire's community'; 39. 5 vahhōus x'aeṭuṭ x'aeṭāṭa, 'with a good clan's clanship'.

36 For the genitive after verbs of knowing cf. Wackernagel (1926–8), i. 68.
37 The verb par- 'fill (with)' can also be construed with the instrumental: see 28. 10 and 49. 1 quoted in §60. Cf. Krahe 97 f.
In the following passages the genitive refers to an association that would be expressed with the instrumental if the governing noun were replaced by the corresponding verb: 44. 13 *frasaia Vanhauś ... Mananbhō*, ‘in consultation with Good Thought’; 49. 3 *Vanhauś sarā izzaī Mananbhō*, ‘I desire union with Good thought’, cf. 31. 21, 49. 8, 53. 3; YH 35. 8; YH 40. 2 *tauuacā haxemā aśaXīācā*, ‘association with thee and Right’. The instrumental is also found with *sarā*, cf. §68.

100. Words meaning ‘reward’, ‘punishment’, etc., take a genitive to specify the context, i.e. what is being rewarded or punished: 28. 4 *aśis śīaXīānagm*, ‘repayments for actions’; 43. 1 *raūo aśis*, ‘as reward for (my) munificence’; 30. 8 *aśam kāenā ... aṇanhām*, ‘the requital for those misdeeds’; 31. 13 *yē vā kāsūs aṇanhō a mazišām yamaite būjām*, ‘or if anyone for a minor misdeed receives the greatest punishment’; 31. 14 *yē iśudō dadaṇṭe dābranām*, ‘what requitals will be given of gifts’, cf. 34. 15; 44. 19 *ahīō aṃennīs*, ‘punishment for that’; 53. 4 *mananbho vanhauś xōnuat hauhuś*, ‘the sunny fruits of good thought’; 53. 7 *atcā vē mizdōm aŋhaḥ ahīā magahīā*, ‘but you will have a reward for this ceremony’. More loosely, 29. 11 *nū nā auuarō ṏham rūōīs*, ‘(come) down to us now in return for our munificence’.

101. Words meaning ‘rule’, ‘have power’, take a genitive of the realm over which authority is exercised: 31. 2 *yaṇā ratūm Ahurō vaēdā ... aiiā gsīiā*, ‘how the Lord has made judgment on those two portions’, cf. 27. 13; 31. 16 *danamahīā xśādrom sōiōrahīā vā*, ‘authority over house or district’, cf. 51. 2, 16; 31. 19 *xśaiammō hizuuō*, ‘being master of his tongue’, cf. 32. 15, 16; 44. 15; 48. 9; 50. 9; 51. 5; 47. 4 *isuuicīt hōs pāraos*, ‘even one who disposes of much (wealth)’, cf. 50. 1; 44. 9 *hudānaos paitīs ... xśādrahīā*, ‘the master of a beneficent dominion’.

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

30. 2 *vārūnā vicīdīhīā*, ‘the choices in the decision’; 30. 3 *āscā hudānho oreś viśiīātā*, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly’, cf. 30. 6; 32. 8 *aśam aṇanhām* *Viuuauhūṣō srāuū Yīmascīt*, ‘in respect of these offences Viuvanť’s son was renowned, even Yīma’; ibíd., *aśamcīt ā ahmī ḍbahmī ... vicīdīōi aipī*, ‘in respect of these (deeds) I am (= depend) on thy decision’, where the genitive may be regarded either as dependent on *vicīdīōi* or as more loosely defining in advance the context of the whole sentence; 31. 19 *vāhau vīdātā ranaiā*, ‘at the two parties’ allocation in the good’; 33. 1 *dātā anhuś paourouiiehiā*, ‘the ordinances of the first existence’; 34. 14 *xśmākam huciṣtīm ... xratēūs aśa frādō verezōnā*, ‘your enlightenment in the wisdom that promotes communities with Right’; 45. 4 *anhuś ahīā vahiṣtām*, ‘the best one of this existence’, cf. 34. 6; 46. 18 *vahistā maśīiā iśōīs*, ‘the best things at my disposal’; 49. 2 *ahīā mā bōnduahīiā mānaiieiti*, ‘puts me in mind of that polluter(?)’, cf. 44. 5; 51. 18 *iśōīs xārōnā*, ‘illustrious of competence’; 51. 19 *gaite-
**II. Morphosyntax**

`hiiā šitaoṣnāiš`, ‘by his lifetime conduct’; YH 38. 5 `rāōiš daragō. bācāuš`, ‘long-armed in liberality’.

The temporal use in 51. 12 `zimō ‘in winter’ may also be put here.

103. **Two genitives may depend on the same noun**, as in 28. 4 `aṣišcā šitaoṣnanaṃ viduṣ Mazdā`, ‘and knowing Mazdā’s repayments for actions’; 43. 3 `erēzūš sauwaŋhō pađō … ahiīā anphēuš astuddō`, ‘the straight paths of advancement in this corporeal existence’; 46. 6 `Drūjō … dāmān haēdhahii`, ‘Wrong’s abodes of partnership’.

104. **Or one genitive may depend on another**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27. 13</td>
<td><code>rațuš aṣaçcīt hacā vaŋhōuš … manaŋhō šitaoṣnanaṃ anphēuš</code>, ‘the judgment in line with right from(?) good thought concerning the world’s deeds’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. 1</td>
<td><code>ahiīā … rafōrahiīa Mainiīuš … Spantahii</code>, ‘of his support, the Bounteous Will’s’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. 10</td>
<td><code>drūjō … skandō spaiiidbrahiīa</code>, ‘destruction of wrong’s prosperity’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. 9</td>
<td><code>rātəm nemanc̣ho Aṣaḥhiia</code>, ‘the tribute of reverence of Right’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. 13</td>
<td><code>arēbā … kāmāhiīa tēm mūi dātā dari-gahīi ayaō</code>, ‘the endeavours (born) of the desire you have given me for long life’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. 8</td>
<td><code>Vanphōuš Mainiīuš šitaoṣnahuši uuōxhiiūcā viduš</code>, ‘knowing (something) of the Good Will’s deed and utterance’, cf. 48. 8; 45. 11 <code>dōng patoiš … uruuaḥō</code>, ‘the ally of the master of the house’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. 5</td>
<td><code>awaŋhō AnE … Aṣahii</code>, ‘at the unharnessing(-place)’; ibid., <code>paqO, yaESU</code>, ‘the paths on which Mazdā the Lord dwells’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. 8</td>
<td><code>duṅre</code>, ‘at a distance, far away’; 34. 14 <code>gōuš verōzānē</code>, ‘in the cow’s community’, cf. YH 35. 8; 43. 5 <code>dāmōiš uruaasē apōmē</code>, ‘at the last bend of creation’, cf. 51. 6; 44. 9 <code>hadamōi</code>, ‘in the abode’, cf. 46. 14; 51. 12 <code>peretā … hiiat ahmū</code>, ‘at the crossing … when at it’, cf. 51. 13;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

105. **The primary function of the locative is to specify a location in space, time, or circumstance**. In Old Avestan it is used freely and has acquired an interesting range of applications.

106. **Of place (real or metaphorical)**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32. 3</td>
<td><code>būmiīa haptaiiē</code>, ‘in earth’s seventh part’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. 13</td>
<td><code>Aciśṭahii dōmānē Manaŋhō</code>, ‘in the house of Evil Thought’, cf. 45. 8; 46. 11; 49. 11; 50. 4; 33. 3 <code>Aṣahii aŋhat Vaŋhōušcā vāstrē Manaŋhō</code>, ‘he will be in the posture of Right and Good Thought’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. 5</td>
<td><code>auuaŋhānē</code>, ‘at the unharnessing(-place)’; ibid., <code>pađō, yaešū Mazdā Ahurō šaētī</code>, ‘the paths on which Mazdā the Lord dwells’; 34. 8 <code>duṅre</code>, ‘at a distance, far away’; 34. 14 <code>gōuš verōzānē</code>, ‘in the cow’s community’, cf. YH 35. 8; 43. 5 <code>dāmōiš uruaasē apōmē</code>, ‘at the last bend of creation’, cf. 51. 6; 44. 9 <code>hadamōi</code>, ‘in the abode’, cf. 46. 14; 51. 12 <code>peretā … hiiat ahmū</code>, ‘at the crossing … when at it’, cf. 51. 13;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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38 Here vaŋhōuš manaŋhō may be a third genitive (of source) or an ablative appended asyndetically to aṣaçcīt hacā.

39 Spiegel §§338–9; Delbrück i. 217–30; Kellens–Pirart ii. 39–44; Skjærvø 115 f.
53. 7 yauuaṭ āzuṣ … būnōī hatchtiā, ‘one will apply his penis at the base of her thighs’; YH 41. 2, 3 ubōoiḥ aḥhuuō, ‘in both existences’.

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

107. Of groups of people: 34. 3 xēmāuuasū, ‘among your followers’; 46. 12 hīaṭ us … naptiaēšū naʃuʃcā Tūrahiiā jēn Friiānahiiā aʃuiaēšū, ‘when he came forth among the famed kin and descendants of Tura Friyana’; 46. 13 martaaēšū, ‘among mortals’; 49. 4 fṣuiasū aʃuiaiʃtō, ‘non-stockraisers among stockraisers’; 50. 2 ərzeʃīś … pouruŝū huutarō piʃiiasū, ‘a true-living man among the many who blaspheme(?) the sun’.

108. Of organs of apperception: 31. 8 hīaṭ əḏā hōm caʃmainī grabsōm, ‘when I catch thee in my eye’, cf. 45. 8; 32. 1 mahmī manōi, ‘in my imagination’; 45. 10 yā əṁnōi … srāuui, ‘who is heard in (my) soul’.

109. Of the subject’s mental condition or disposition: 28. 4 xēa aechē aʃahīiā, ‘I will look out in search of Right’; 29. 11 ət mām … fɾaʃsnaʃe … pai-tī.zānata, ‘acknowledge me in (your) providence’, cf. 43. 12; 32. 13 yaečā … ʃiʃerzat kāmē əʃahiiā maʃtrānō dūtīm, ‘and those who decry in their lust thy prophet’s message’.

110. Of times or occasions: 30. 3 paouruuiē, ‘in the beginning’, cf. 44. 19; 45. 2; 31. 14 hōŋkeretā hīaṭ, ‘as regards at the Reckoning’; 31. 19 vīdātā, ‘at the allocation’; 43. 5 aʃhōuʃ zgilōi, ‘at the generation of the world’, cf. 48. 6; 49. 9 yāhī, ‘at the Supplication’. The personal name Māidiiōi.mājha- (51. 19) is derived from the locative phrase *madyai māhī, ‘at mid moon’.

111. Of abstract domains: 31. 8 aʃhōuʃ ahurum ʃiiaʃtanaeʃū, ‘lord in (the domain of) the world’s actions’; 32. 6 əḏahmi … xədroyī, ‘in thy realm’, cf. 34. 10; 43. 13; 49. 5; 33. 2 Ahūrahiiā zaʃe Mazdā, ‘in Lord Mazdā’s favour’; 33. 10 əḏahmi hīš zaʃe əbaxshōhuua, ‘give them a share in thy favour’; 50. 1 zūtā, ‘at (my) invocation’; 51. 7 səjhe, ‘in my teaching’.

112. Of activities: 28. 9 yōiʃomā dasemē, ‘we are busy at the offering’; 34. 2 aʃtā i tōi … vispā datā … pairi.ɡaebē xēmāuusatō vahmē, ‘they are all dedicated to thee in your follower’s hymn before his flock’; 44. 13 nōiʃ frasaiiā ʃaʃhōuʃ ʃāxnarō Manahū, ‘they have taken no pleasure in consultation of Good Thought’; 45. 6 yehiia vahmē ʃohū fraʃi Manahū, ‘in whose lauding I consult with Good Thought’; 46. 9 ʃiʃobnōi ʃpoʃtem, ‘bounteous in action’; 50. 1 zūtā, ‘at (my) invocation’; 51. 7 səjhe, ‘in my teaching’.

113. A peculiar use of the locative is to denote the prize to be awarded in some contest or distribution: 30. 10 yōi zазentā ʃaʃhōu ʃrauuihī, ‘(the steeds) that will be first in (the race for) good repute’; 43. 12 yā vē aʃiʃ rənōiʃbiiia sauuiō
dāiāt, ‘who should distribute the rewards to the two parties in (the allocation of) strength’; 47. 6 ādrā vahjāv vi. dāiātīm rānoībiā, ‘the distribution of the good to the two parties by fire’, cf. 31. 19; 49. 9 daēnā vahiśē yujōn mīżē, ‘they yoke their moral selves in (the contest for) the best reward’; YH 41. 4 hanaē-mācā zaēmācā ... ūbahmū rafanahī darogāiāv, ‘may we earn and win thy long-lasting support’.

114. The verb dā- (or ā dā-, nī dā-) is often construed with the locative to mean ‘place in’: 28. 2 yaiś rapontō daitī xābrē, ‘by which one could set one’s supporters in well-being’, cf. 50. 5; 30. 8 yoi Ašāi dadōn zastaiī Drujām, ‘who give Wrong into the hands of Right (dat.)’, cf. 44. 14; 31. 18 ā ūi demānōm visēm vā ... dāt duśiūcā maroīkacā, ‘for he will give house or manor into chaos and ruin’; 32. 14 ahiī ĝrōhō āhoīūōi nī Kāuwaianascī xratiūs dadaṭ, ‘into its fetter the glutton(?), the very Kavis surrender their reason’; 45. 9 varežā nā dīiāt Ahurō, ‘may the Lord set us to work’; 45. 10 x̺aśrōī hōī hauruūtāt amaratāt ahmāī stōi dān, ‘into his control they give health and continuing life to be his’; 51. 14 yō iś sōnghō ... Drūjō domānē ādāt, ‘a teaching that will consign them to the house of Wrong’.

115. Miscellaneous usages: 31. 2 yezī āiś nōīt uruūānē aduva āiī.daraštā vaśiūtā, ‘if through these (words) the better way is not in a conspicuous place (= clearly visible) for the soul’; 43. 16 xāng darasōī, ‘in sight of the sun’; 33. 2 vahjāv vā coībāiūtē astīm, ‘or instructs his comrade in goodness’; 43. 11 maśīiā-śū zrazdāiūtā, ‘trust in mortals’; 44. 14 ōmauautīm sinām dāuōī druguuāsū, ‘to deliver a crushing blow on the wrongful’; 45. 7 amaratātī aśāunō uruūā aeśō utaiūtā, ‘the righteous man’s soul is active in (a state of) continuing life (and) vitality’; 46. 16 yaṛā vahjōuś manayhō īstā x̺aśrām, ‘where the realm of good thought is at one’s disposal’, cf. 49. 12; 48. 1 yā daibitanā fraoxtā amaratātī daēwuuāṣcā maśīiūcscā, ‘the things deceitfully asserted in (the matter of) non-dying by Daevas and mortals’; 48. 4 ūbahmū xratāv apōmm nānā anḥaṭ, ‘in (the dispositions of) thy wisdom it will go differently at the last (for the good and the bad)’; YH 41. 4 rapoiisācā tū nā darogomcā uštācā, ‘mayest thou long support us and (as) in our wish’, i.e. as desired; cf. uštā in 27. 14; 30. 11; 43. 1.

In 43. 12 at tū mōī nōīt asruūtā pairi.aoyāžā I incline to take asruūtā as a neuter plural, ‘thou givest me advice that will not go unheeded’, but it is also possible to construe it as a locative of asruṭī-, ‘not without (my) heeding’, by a special usage attested in Vedic whereby a locative noun negativated by a- is equivalent to ‘without x’. Another possible example is 29. 3 aduuaēsō gauuōi, ‘without hostility to the cow’, if aduuaēsō should be an endless locative from aduuaēsas- rather than a nom. sg. masc. from aduuaēṣa-.

42 B. Forssman in Crespo–García Ramón 99, 100.


**Locative with appositives**

116. The locative is found in association with the following appositives.

- *aipī* 32. 8 *aēšāncīt ā ahmī ṭbāhmī ... vīcīdīō aipī*, ‘in respect of these (deeds) I am (= depend) upon thy decision’.

- *aibī* 43. 7 *frasaiīā ... aibī ṭbāhū gaēdāhū tamuśīcā*, ‘for asking about thy flock and thyself’; 51. 9 *aibī ahuḥūhū daxštīm dāuuōī*, ‘to establish proof about (our) mentalities’.

- ā 32. 7 *aojōī hādrōī ā*, ‘I declare in my righteousness(?)’; 32. 15 *vaŋhēuš ā domānē Manāŋhō*, ‘onward into the house of Good Thought’; 34. 3 *āt tōī ... dāmā gaēdā vīspā ā xṣābrōī*, ‘we will give all our living bodies into thy dominion’; 43. 2 *ahmī xvādrōī ā nā xāṭram daiditā*, ‘a man might add well-being to well-being for himself’; 46. 5 *yā vā xṣaiīās ā dām drītā aiiāntōm*, ‘or a man who on his own authority should take into his house one coming’; 49. 10 *taṭcā ... ṭbāhmī ā dām nipājḥē*, ‘and that (reward) thou keepest in thy house’, cf. 48. 7; 49. 8 *dā sarōm ... yām vaŋhāu ṭbāhmī ā xṣābrōī*, ‘grant the union that is in thy good domain’; 50. 4 *yā iṣō stāḥpat ā paiīō*, ‘by which one may stand forth on the path of enablement’; 51. 8 *hiat akōī ā dṛguuāitetē, uṣṭā yā aṣam dāḍrē ... yām xṃūtēm rānōiibīā dā*, ‘that the atonement thou didst establish for the two parties is amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss for him who has embraced right’ (on uṣṭā see above, §115).

- *paiī*: 33. 11 *mareḍdāā mōī ādāī kahiīācīt paiīō*, ‘have mercy on me at the allocation of whatever it may be’; 51. 22 *yēhīā ... yesnē paiīō*, ‘in whose worship’; YH 38. 5 *auūa vē, Vajhīś, ... nāśū paiīō*, ‘I will assist you, Good Ones, at your arrivings’; 40. 1 *ahū aṯ paiīō adāhū*, ‘at these oblations’.

- *pairī*: 29. 5 *nōit aṛēζiīōī frajiīāitiś ... dṛguuasū paiɾī*, ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one among the wrongful?’; 34. 8 *śīaōbṇāś ... vaēśū as pairī pourubiiō iṭiiējō*, ‘by their actions, in which there was danger for many’.

**Vocative**

117. Vocatives are very frequent in the Gāthās. The addressees may be specific ones, or entire classes of being, as in 30. 11 *maṣītāŋhō*, ‘O mortals’. A vocative is most often associated with another grammatical marker of allocution, a second-person pronoun and/or a second-person verb (indicative or imperative). It may appear without any such marker in a prayer, which by its nature presupposes an addressee, as in 28. 1; 30. 9; or in a question, as 31. 15; 48. 10, 11. But there are many passages where no marker is present and there is no apparent reason for an addressee to be named, as in 31. 10; 32. 11, 16; 33. 3; 45. 11; 46. 4, 5; 48. 5; 49. 3; 51. 10, 11.

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43 Spiegel §§312; Delbrück i. 394–400; Smith 44–8; Kellens–Pirart ii. 44–52; Skjærvø 104 f.
118. Where two or more separate addressees are coupled we find the so-called Vāyav Índraśca construction,\(^4^4\) by which one is put in the vocative and the other(s) in the nominative: 30. 9 Mazdâscâ Ahurâñhô ... Ašâcâ, ‘Mazdâ (nom.), Lords (voc. rather than nom.), and Right (nom. rather than voc.)’;\(^4^5\) with only implicit vocative, 33. 11 yô sauuištô ahurô mazdâscâ, Ārmaitścâ Ašömçâ ... Manascâ Vohû Xšâdrömçâ, sraotâ möi, ‘(O thou) who art the strongest Lord and the Mindful One, and Piety (nom.) and Right and Good Thought and Dominion (all neuters, presumably nom.), hearken to me’. What underlies this syntagm is the sense that ‘you’ can only refer to one specific person or group, and any others are ‘they’, so that ‘hear me, A and B and C’ is rendered as if it were ‘hear me, A, and (let) B and C (hear)’—though the ‘hear me’ is in the plural.

119. Analogous phenomena occur when the first addressee is associated with a second-person pronoun in an oblique case and the secondary addressees appear in that same case:\(^4^6\) 28. 3 yô và Ašâ ufiīnî Manascâ Vohû ... Mazdymcâ Ahurom, ‘I who will hymn you (acc. pl.), Right (voc.), and Good Thought (acc.? and Mazdâ the Lord (acc.)’; 28. 9 anâïs và nôî. Ahurâ [Mazdâ], Ašômçâ yûnâïs zaranaemâ, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you (pl.), Lord (voc.), and Right (acc.?)’; 49. 6 frô và išiî, Mazdâ. Ašômçâ mrûïî, ‘I desire you (acc. pl.), Mazdâ (voc.) and Right (acc.?), to speak’; 32. 9 tâ uxôã mainiûnû mahiiâ, Mazdâ, Ašâcâ yûšmaiûiî gârâzê, ‘(with) these utterances of my will, Mazdâ, I complain to you (pl.) and to Right’; 34. 3 aţ tôi mîazdôm, Ahurâ, nêmâyhâ Ašâicâ dâmâ gaebô vîspâ, ‘as oblation for thee, Lord, and for Right, we will give with reverence all our living bodies’; 51. 2 tâ vô, Mazdâ, paouruuîm, Ahurâ, Ašâicêcâ tai-biîcâ, Ārmaitê, dôîsâ möi iš tôiš xšâdrôm, ‘so to you (dat. pl.), Lord Mazdâ (voc.), first and to Right (dat.) and to thee (new dat. pronoun), Piety (voc.), I will show the command of my competence’; cf. 32. 6.

Pronouns\(^4^7\)

Personal pronouns and adjectives

120. Specialized personal pronouns exist for the 1st and 2nd persons (sg., dual, pl.). There are two series of forms, one emphatic, the other enclitic and unemphatic. Use of the nominative pronouns implies some emphasis, as the subject is sufficiently identified from the verb form. There is nevertheless what looks like an enclitic form tî beside the tonic tuuôm (see §283), and as(-cît) in 46. 18 (in second position in the clause) has the look of an enclitic beside the initial

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45 For nom./voc. Ašâ cf. §27.
46 Cf. Reichelt §435; Risch (1964); Insler 121 f.
47 Caland (1891); Reichelt §§565–601; Skjærvø 116–24.
azām of 29. 10 and 44. 7, 11, despite the apparent emphasis given to it by the suffixed particle -cīt; cf. 29. 10 azāmcīt, ‘I for one’, ‘I at any rate’. Conceivably in ahmāī,as.cīt the particle is to be taken as emphasizing the ahmāī, with the enclitic az tucked in between, not ‘on him I for my part’ but ‘certainly on him I’.

121. For the 1st and 2nd sg. and pl. persons there is a corresponding series of possessive adjectives, ma- ūβa- ahmāka- xāmāka-/yūsāmāka-. (A further series, māuaua- ūβaua- xāmāuaua-/yūsāmāuaua-, denotes ‘a person of my/your kind’ or one of similar persuasion.) Possession can also be indicated by means of the dative enclitic pronouns; see §75. Occasionally the genitive of the emphatic pronoun is used: 43. 14 tawārafaνO frāsAνvm, ‘thy providential support’; 53. 9 tāt, Mazdā, tawāxšārōm, ‘that, Mazdā, is thy dominion’.

122. In addressing Mazdā Zarathushtra alternates unpredictably between sg. and pl. pronouns and verb forms; the pl. is understood to include the associated powers, especially Right and Good Thought. Sometimes, to make explicit who is included in the pl. ‘you’, he adds the name of Right or of both entities, either in the same case as the pronoun (or possessive adjective) with appended -cā ‘and’, or in the sociative instrumental (cf. §64).

With -cā see examples in §119.

With instrumental: 46. 13 tōm yē Āsā mōhmaidi hushaxāim, ‘him we apprehend as your and Right’s good friend’; 50. 10 xāmākāt Āsā vahmā, Mazdā, ‘(these things) are for your lauding with Right, Mazdā’. With hadā: 50. 4, quoted in §70.

In 51. 15 we find a combination of both constructions: tā yē Vohū Maṇaj-hā (instr.) Aśācā (dat.) sauuaś cōuuisī, ‘these (lauds) were assigned to you together with Good Thought and to Right because of (your) power to strengthen’, where ‘you’ = Mazdā, Right, and Good Thought.

123. For the 3rd person there are specialized enclitic forms; where emphasis is required, demonstratives from different roots are employed:

Sg. nom. huuū hī tāt, acc. tōm tpm tāt, dat. ahmāī axiīāi, gen. ahiīā.
Dual gen. (all genders) aiiā/ās-cā.
Pl. nom. tōi tā tā, acc. tōŋ/tq tā tā, instr. tiīś, dat./abl. aēībiīo ābiiō, gen. aēśqm.

In 47. 1 ahmāī appears to be used with generic reference: spēntā mainiīū vahiś-tācā maṇaṇhā ... ahmāī dān hauruvtātā amerētātā, ‘on account of bounteous will and best thought they will give one health and life’. In 46. 2 īt is used loosely of the matter that Zarathushtra is complaining of: ā īt vaēnā, Ahurā, ‘look to it, Lord’.

48  Cf. Smith 49 f.
49  Cf. Smith 36–43; Kellens–Pirart ii. 51 f.
50  Cf. Delbrück iii. 256–8; Risch (1964); Humbach i. 101.
124. A pronoun may be followed up by the name of the one it refers to; see examples in §20.

Contrariwise, an extended noun phrase may be summed up by a following pronoun: 33. 10 Wispls tlhujItaiiO yl zI … bawaiNtI, qBahmI hIS zaoSE baxSOhwA, ‘all those good lives that have been and those that are and those that will come to be, give them shares in thy favour’.

125. In all persons the dative and genitive emphatic pronouns serve also as reflexives: 28. 8 yAsA WAunuS narOi Frašaostrāi maibiitācā, ‘I pray longingly on behalf of the manly Frashaushtra and myself’, cf. 31. 4; 46. 3; 51. 10; 34. 1 yā yasna amaratatātām ašemcā tāibiitā dājāh, ‘the worship through which thou takest for thyself continuing life and right’, cf. 44. 18; 43. 2 ahmāi ‘for himself’, cf. 27. 14; 44. 19; 49. 2; 50. 2; 51. 19; YH 35. 6; 31. 10 axiitāi ‘for herself’; 47. 5 ahiiitā šiiaodnāis ‘by his own actions’, cf. 48. 4; 46. 15 xsmaiibitā ‘for yourselves’.

The enclitic pronoun appears to be similarly used at 51. 2 tā vē … dōiśā mōi istōiś xśađram, ‘so I will show you my command of competence’.

The noun tanu- ‘body, person’ is also used in reflexive expressions: 30. 2, see §126; 43. 7 kädā aitārā daxśārā frasaitāi dīśā aibī ũbāhu gaebdāhū tanuśicā? ‘how mightest thou take a day (for me) to ask teaching about thy flock and thyself?’

126. There is also a specialized reflexive adjective x’a-, indifferent to person and number, ‘my/your/his/their own’: 31. 20 šiiaodnāis x’āiś, ‘through your own actions’, cf. 33. 14; 46. 4; 49. 4; 51. 13, 14. x’a- refers back to the most prominent personal presence in the sentence, which is not necessarily the grammatical subject: 30. 2 ā vaenātā … ā vareṇā viciśahiiā narōm narōm x’āxiiitā tanuitiit, ‘behold the choices in the decision (made) man by man for his own person’; 46. 11 yōng x’ā uruū x’āecā xraodat daēnā, ‘whom their own soul and their own conscience will torment’. In 51. 22 tā yazāi x’āiś nāmēniś, it is not certain whether the meaning is ‘those (immortals) I shall worship using my own names’ for them, or ‘using their own (true) names’. The latter is preferable, since tā is an explicit topic.

Demonstrative pronouns

127. Deictic utterances in the texts refer mainly to ritual activity taking place on the spot or to things immediately visible. The usual deictic pronoun/pronominal adjective is accordingly aitōm (stem a/-i/-ima-) ‘this’: 28. 9 anaśī … yānāś, ‘with these prayers’; 29. 8 aēm mōi idā vistō, … Zarāduštrō Spitāmō, ‘this man here I have found, Z. S.’; YH 35. 9 imā āt ukoč vacā, ‘these words that we speak’; 36. 1 ahiiitā … ābrō verezānā, ‘with this fire’s community’; 38. 1 imam … zam, ‘this Earth’; 40. 1 ahū āt paiitā adūḥi, ‘at these oblations’. Where a second demonstrative is required for a different referent, it is huūō

51 Caland 4–16.
(root auua-): 44. 12 katārēm ā, āngrō (aiiēm?) vā ĥuuō vā āngrō? ... ĥuuō, nōīt aiiēm, āngrō mainietē, ‘which (of those I question) is my enemy, this one or that one? ... He, not the other, thinks as an enemy’;\(^{52}\) YH 36. 6 imā raocā ... auuat ... ĥuara, ‘this daylight ... yonder sun’.

128. These pronouns can also point forward or backward to things in the text:

47. 2 ahiēa mainīēus spēništahīē vahīśtōm ... voreziat āiiēa cisi, ‘huoo ptā āṣa-hīē Mazdā’, ‘of this most bounteous will the best (showing) one effects with this insight, “he is the father of Right, Mazdā’’; 31. 15 peresa āuuat, yā maēniē, yē dreguawaitē xṣadēm hunāīī, ‘I ask this: what the punishment is if one is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’. So with tat, īt: 44. 12 tat īēa peresa ... kō āṣauuā, yāīī peresaē, dreguēā vā? ‘this I ask thee: who is righteous or wrongful of those I question?’; 44. 20 cidēnā, Mazdā, huxsābrē daēuuē āṣhārē—āt īt peresā—yōī ... , ‘what, Mazdā, have the Daevas been good rulers—this is what I ask—they that ...’.

129. For the rest, the various demonstratives are used in anaphoric function, referring to something or someone either already identified or defined in an associated relative clause. Relative clauses very often have a correlative demonstrative in the main clause, whether this precedes or follows:

(Stem ta-): 30. 1 aē īt vaxsiē ... yā mazdāēā, ‘now I will tell those things that you are to bring to the attention’, cf. 30. 3, 11; 31. 5, 14; 30. 9 aēcā tōī vaēm xiēmē, yōī ..., ‘may we be those who’; 32. 1 tōng dāraiō, yōī và dai-bišēntī, ‘to scatter those who hate you’; 31. 3 hiēa uruuaēm cadsōhuauadēbīō, tat nē, Mazdā, viduuanōi vaocā, ‘the rule that is for the prudent, tell us it, Mazdā, for our knowledge’; 31. 13 yā frēsā āuuēśiē, yā và ... peresaētē taiēa, yā và ... , tā ... aibē āṣa vaēnaiē vîśpā, ‘the question that is clear-cut, or the secrets that the two debate, of if someone ..., all those things thou regardest with right’; YH 35. 3 tat aē varamaidī ... hiēē i mainīādēcā vaocōimēcā varezmēcā yā ... , ‘we choose to think and speak and do those things that ...’.

(Stem auuu-): 29. 10 xṣadēmēcā auuuat ..., yā huṣētiē rāmācē dēt, ‘and that authority by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace’, cf. 31. 6; 29. 9 kadā yawuā ĥuuō āphaht, yā hōī dadaē zastaauuē auuuō? ‘when will there ever be that man who will give him physical assistance?’; 32. 10 ĥuuō mā nā srauō mōrendāt, yē aciśtēm vaēnajēhē aogēdē gām asībīē huuarecā, ‘that man perverts good repute, who declares that the worst thing to behold with the eyes is the cow and the sun’; 31. 7 yasētā māntē pauuruiō ... xēbrā, ĥuuō xraēbē dāmīē āṣom, ‘he who first conceived these felicities, he with his sapience is the creator of Right’, cf. 46. 13.

(Stem a/-i/-ima-): 28. 10 aē yēng ... vöistā ... dāōng ..., aēbīiō perēnī āpa-nāē kāmēm, ‘those whom thou knoweest to be upright, fulfill their desire with attainment’; 30. 8 aēbīiō sastē ... yōī āṣāi dadaē zastaaiō Drujem, ‘to proclaim to those who deliver Wrong into the hands of Right’, cf. 31. 1; 31. 6 āhmēi

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\(^{52}\) On the text cf. §300.
II. Morphosyntax

*āñhaṭ vahīṣṭam, yē mōi vāduuai vaocāt haiḍim, ‘it will go best for him who knows and speaks my truth’; 33. 9 aśīḍ aṛōī hākurenōm, yaiiā haciṇṭē uruuqṇō, ‘the fellowship of those two is established, whose souls accord’; 34. 1 yā śīaōdṇā, yā vacaṛghā, yā yasṇā aṃśṛatātāṃ aṃścā taibītō dāṛghā, ... aĕṣṭām tōi ... dāsṭē, ‘with which deed, with which word thou takest for thyself continuing life and right, of these is offering made thee’.*

130. When there is no relative clause, *huuō* is generally emphatic ‘he’ (with other stems used for other cases, cf. §123): 29. 4 hāṭam huuō aojištō ..., Mazdā, ‘he is the mightiest of beings, Mazdā’; 29. 7 huuō uruśaēibītō spēntō sāsnaiiā, ‘he is bounteous to the needy through his ordinance’; 29. 8 aēm mōi idā vistō, ... Zaraḍuśtrō Spītāmō: huuō nā ... vaśtī ... carekerebrā srāuaiieñhē, ‘this man here I have found, Z. S.: he desires to broadcast our praises’. But a speaker, after characterizing himself, can then use *huuō* of himself, as it were ‘as such a man I ...’: 33. 4–6 yō ṛṛḍat ... asruṣṭim ... yazāi apā, ... yas.tē vispē.mazištēm sraośēm zaibīiā ..., yō zaotā aṣā arzaṛu, huuō mainiīuś ā vahīṣṭāt kaiiā, ‘I that by worship will seek to keep disregard from thee ... I that minister straight in accord with right, as that man I desire from best will ...’; with 3rd-person formulation, 43. 16 at Ahurā, huuō mainiīūm Zaraḍuśtrō vārēntē, ‘O Lord, this Z. (as portrayed in the preceding stanzas) chooses the will ...’. In YH we find it with 2nd-person reference: 36. 2 (following mention of the fire’s power to punish) uruuqṇiśiṭō huuō nā yātāīiā paitījamiiā, ātare Mazdā Ahurahīiā, ‘as such, most joyous, mayest thou come for our supplicating, O fire of Lord Mazdā’; cf. 40. 2.53

In 32. 9 huuō serves as marker of a second clause in which the verb is to be supplied from the first: duśśastiś srauṣṭā mōraṇdāṭ, huuō jīiāṭūs sēṅghanāiś xra-tētūm, ‘the false teacher perverts good repute, he (also perverts) life’s reason with his pronouncements’.

131. *ta-* can be used as a placeholder for a noun previously mentioned so that a genitive can be attached to it: 43. 10 parśṭēm zī ṛṛḍā yadvēnā tat †ōmaatătām, ‘for the question asked by thee is like that of the †strong’.*54

132. The neuter instrumental *tā* can function as a sentence-connector, ‘so’, ‘therefore’: 45. 11 yas.tē daēwūníng ... maśiliāscā tarōmaṣṭā, ‘he then who scornt the Daevas and mortals’; 51. 10 tā duždā, vōi hēntī, ‘so (he is) a malefactor (of all) who are’; 51. 2, 13. In 51. 12 it is correlative to hiiat and means ‘by the fact that’, ‘in that’: nōit tā īm xśnāūs vaēptīō Kēuūnīō peretā ..., hiiat ahni urū-raost aštō, ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing, that the emissary had barred his way at it’.


54  ōmaātātām is a senseless corruption caused by ōmaāantarōm in the following line; cf. West (2008), 126.
133. *ahā, ibā* ‘thus’, especially as a predicate (with or without the verb ‘to be’), of what is true as stated: 32. 6 yezi táiš *ahā*, ‘if thereby (it is really) so’; 34. 6 yezi *ahā* stā haiḍīm, ‘if ye are like this in truth’, cf. 44. 6; 53. 6 ibā i haiḍīm, narō, *ahā* jānatiō, ‘these truths are like this, gentlemen, like so, ladies’. With optatives in *YH*, 40. 3 *ahā* x’āetuš, *ahā* vierzōnā, *ahā* haxōmām xiiāt, ‘so may it be with the clan, so with the communities, so with the societies’; 41. 3.

Used with nōit like Latin *non item*: 47. 4 ahmā mainīchioš rārāšieiŋti droguunantō … spenitā; nōit ibā ašauvāno, ‘from this bounteous will the wrong-ful deflect people; not so the righteous’. (But a similar structure without ibā in 30. 3 ascā hudāghō orζ vīšiia, nōit duždāghō, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly; not (so) ill-doers’.)

Correlative with yaqA: 27. 13 yaqA ahū vairiō, *ahā* ratuš … dazdā … Mazdāi, ‘as (he is) the master for choice, so the direction is assigned to Mazdā’; 29. 4 *ahā* anjhaat, yaqA huūo vasaq, ‘it will be as he will’; 33. 1 yaqA āiš, ibā varōsaitē, yā dāā, ‘as by what was ordained, so it will be carried out’; 45. 3 yōi īm vō nōit *ibā* (v.l. *ahā*) maqram varōsantī, yaqA īm mōnācā vaocācā, ‘those of you who do not act on this prescript in the way I conceive and speak it’; *YH* 36. 2 yaqA āt … vaedā haiḍīm, *ahā* haṭ vohu tātō āt ū varōsiiötū, ‘as anyone knows a truth, so, it being good, let him then put it into effect’, cf. 39. 4.

Introducing imperatives, *ahā* means ‘therefore’: 29. 1; 31. 18; 34. 7; 53. 3.55

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

*iiti* ‘thus’: introducing direct speech, 45. 2 yaitā spaniā *iiti* mrautā yēṃ angreṃ, ‘of whom the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one’, with the speech following; to avoid repeating a phrase, *YH* 39. 3 (we worship the good entities), yōi Vaghōuš ā Manahghō šieiŋti Yasċā *iiti*, ‘those (masc.) that dwell on the side of Good Thought, and those (fem.) ditto’.

*nū* ‘now’: 45. 8 nū †ziṭ cašmainī viadarasem, ‘I have just now discerned him in my eye’;56 in statement of intention, 51. 1 taṭ nū ciṭ varošānē, ‘that I will do for us right now’. In a weakened sense in appeals or exhortations, ‘come now’: 45. 1 nū gišōdūm, nū sraotā, … nū īm vispa … mazdāghōdūm, ‘listen now, hear now, all now take it to heart’; 29. 11 Ahurā, nū nā auuarē, ‘Lord, now (come) down to us’.

A longer form occurs in 31. 7 ye ā nūrēm ciṭ … hamō, ‘which even now is the same’.

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

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55 G. E. Dunkel, *HS* 101 (1988), 62 f., regards *ahā* in this use as a different word from *ahā* ‘thus’.

56 *ziṭ* may contain the particles ʾti ṣiṭ, but there should be four syllables where we have only nū *ziṭ*.
atē ‘then, thereupon’, is a probable conjecture for atē in 29. 6, and similarly tatō in YH 35. 6 (see §278).

aṭrā ‘there, in that situation’: 31. 12; ‘thither’, correlative with yaṭrā, 46. 16 aṭrā tū aredrāś idi … yaṭrā aṣā hacaitē ārmaitiš, ‘go with the zealous ones to where Piety is together with Right’.

Relative pronouns

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

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

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

The neut. instr. yā can mean ‘the way in which, how’ or ‘the reason for which, why’: 34. 12 srūdiīāi ... frāuuaocā, yā vī.dāiiT aṣīṣ rāṣṇā, ‘proclaim for our hearing how the rewards of (thy) rulings might be distributed’; 46. 2 vaēdā taṣ, yā ahmī ... anaēśō: mā kannaśuuā, ‘I know why I am ineffectual: because of my poverty in cattle’. In 31. 16 it forms the first element of a compound adjective: perasā awwaṭ ... yadā huuō aŋhaṭ vāštiaodnascā, ‘I ask this … when such a man will exist, and how-actioned’.

The neut. abl. yāt means ‘from when, since’: 32. 4 yāt yūṣ tā fra.mīmadā, ‘ever since you have enjoined those things’; YH 36. 6 baṛezistom baṛezimanām awwaṭ vāt huuare awwācī, ‘highest of the high (we proclaim) yonder sun since it was named’.

Relative adverbs/conjunctions

135. yaḍā ‘in which way, how, as’: 30. 4; 31. 2, 14, 16; 44. 1, 18; 46. 9; 48. 9; 49. 6; 51. 5; often correlative with aḍā or iḍā, see §133; with ellipse of verb, 30. 7 aēṣṇām tōi ā aŋhaṭ yaḍā ādānair pauruiō, ‘their leader will be yours there as if in iron’. yaḍā can also introduce a final clause, ‘in order to’: §253.

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

yaḍēnā ‘in the same way as, like’: 43. 10, quoted in §131; 31. 22 ciṭrā i hudānīhē, yavēnā vaēdomnāi manaŋhā, ‘these things are clear to the well-doer just as he apprehends them in his mind’, meaning perhaps that he sees them just as they are; YH 35. 2 humaŋtām huuartānā huuarštānām ... mahī aibā.jaṛatārō, naē naēstārō yavēnā vohunām mahī, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds we are approvers, just as we are not revilers of what is good’.
yadā ‘when’, of future time, as a conjunction introducing a temporal clause: §246. In an indirect question: 31. 16, quoted in §134.

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

yauwat ‘as far as’, ‘as long as’, local or temporal: 34. 9 aēbiitō maś aṣā siiadāt, yauwat ahmaat aurunā xafstrā, ‘from them it will retreat a great distance, as far as the savage predators from us’; 43. 8 yauwat ṛ ṛ, Mazdā, staomī uṣiācā, ‘so long as I am praising and hymning thee, Mazdā’; 28. 4 yauwat isāi tawuacā, ‘so long as I have the ability and strength’, cf. 43. 9; 50. 11; a different form in a similar usage at YH 35. 7 vātē isāmaidē, ‘so far as we are able’.57

Interrogative pronouns

136. The interrogatives are used only in direct questions, not in indirect.

kō ‘who, what’ can be used both as a pronoun and adjectively: 29. 1 kō mā tašaṭ? ‘who fashioned me?’; 44. 5 kō huṇāpā raocascā dāt tamascā? ‘what skilful one made the light and the darkness?’; 49. 7 kō ariiamā, kō x’aetuṣ … aŋhat? ‘which tribe, which clan will it be?’

In the nom. and acc. masc. sg. we also find the strengthened forms kas.nā, kōm.nā (44. 3, 4; 46. 7). In the nom. this may have been understood as ‘what man?’ (cf. 51. 11 kō … nā), but the nā was probably an original particle. Cf. §308; Brugmann (1902) §839. 4.

The form ciś appears in the strengthened form ciśnā (§137), but otherwise only in the question that Zarathushtra represents a stranger as asking him: 43. 7 ciś ahī, kahiiā ahī? ‘who art thou? whose art thou?’; possibly a dialect difference is implied, or a more conversational register.

The plural is used in questions about groups of people: 44. 6 kaēbiitō azīm rāniitō skraatīm gan taśō? ‘for what people did you fashion the gladdening milch cow?’, cf. 46. 3; 48. 11.

137. The neuter kaṭ can introduce a question without relation to subject or object, ‘est-ce que …?’: 28. 5 Aṣā, kaṭ ṛ ṛ aresasānī? ‘O Right, shall I see thee?’; 48. 2 kaṭ aṣauuā … vēnghaṭ droguuātōn? ‘will the righteous man vanquish the wrongful one?’; 50. 1 kaṭ mōi uruuā isē cahiiā awwaŋhō? ‘does my soul command any succour?’ (unless it is ‘what of any succour’). The position of the enclitics ṛ ṛ and mōi precludes the translation of kaṭ as ‘what, …?’. Contrast the stronger question-marker ciśnā (= *cītnā, which replaces *kaṭnā): 44. 20 ciśnā, Mazdā, huṣaabrā daēuuā āŋharā? ‘what, Mazdā, have the Daevas been good rulers?’

138. A ‘which of two’ question is introduced by the neuter katārōm, even if the alternatives are masculines (just as in Gk. πότερον … ἢ …, Latin utrum …

57 See Narten (1986), 119 f.
II. Morphosyntax

an ...): 31. 17 katārēm āšāvūvā vā ḍraguuvā vā verānuvaitē māziiō? ‘which is to be the more persuasive, the righteous one or the wrongful?’, cf. 44. 12.

Interrogative adverbs

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

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

kudā ‘where?’: 29. 11 kudā ašōm vohūcā manō? ‘where are right and good thought?’

kuōrā ‘(to) where?’: 34. 7 kuōrā tōi arādrā? ‘where are thy zealous ones?’, cf. 51. 4; 44. 15 kuōrā aiiā, kahmāi vanaṃṇ dādā? ‘where between the two, to whom dost thou give the victory?’; 46. 1 kāṃ nēmōī zām, kuōrā nēmōī aiiēnī? ‘what land for refuge, (to) where am I to go for refuge?’

kū ‘where?’: 51. 4 kuōrā yasō.xīiēn ašōm? kū spontā ārmaitiś? ‘where is lustre-giving right? where liberal piety?’; 53. 9.

Indefinite pronouns

140. The same forms serve for indefinite pronouns as for interrogative, but ciś plays a larger role:

naē.ciś ‘no one’, 43. 6, 13; acc. masc. naē.cīm, 34. 7; neut. naē.cīt ‘nothing’, 32. 7.

māciś ‘let no one’, 31. 18; 48. 9 yezi cahiiā xśaiiādā, ‘if you have control of anything’; 50. 1 kāṭ mōī uruvū isē cahiiā auauūhō? ‘does my soul command any succour?’

141. A relative clause is given comprehensive reference by following up the relative pronoun with the corresponding part of ciś + -cā: 43. 16 huuō mai-niiūm Zarađuūstrō verōntē, Mazda, yas.tē ciścā spōnīstō, ‘this Zarathushtra choos- es that will, Mazda, whichever is thy most bounteous one’; 45. 5 yōī mōī ahmāi sraośom dān caiiascā, ‘whatever people give me compliance with it’; 47. 5 aśāūmē cōiś vā zī ciścā vahīstā, ‘to the righteous one thou assignest whatever things are best’.

142. ka- + ciś is used to mean ‘any’, ‘whatever it may be’: 33. 11 mereždātā mōī ādāi kahīīcīt paiūī, ‘have mercy on me at the allocation of whatever (it may be)’; 43. 1 uśtā ahmāi, yahmāi uśtā kahmāīcīt, ‘as desired by him to whom it is desirable, anyone’, cf. 44. 16; 46. 8 paiśiaōgē tā ahmāī jasōīt duuēśāyhā ... kācīt, Mazda, duuēśāyhā, ‘may those (actions) recoil on him with hostility ...

58 Caland 48–50.
yes, with whatever sort of hostility, Mazdā!’; 49. 5 ārmatoiš kascit aśā huzōntuš, ‘any well-born man of piety with Right’; YH 38. 5 kahmācīt hātām, ‘for anyone in the world’.

Hence the remarkable compound in YH 39. 2 aśāunəm āt urunō yazaimatē kudōzātanam.čit, ‘we worship the souls of the righteous, wherever born’.

Verbs

Person and Number

143. The verb paradigms contain forms for the three persons and the three numbers (singular, dual, plural).

144. A single speaker may use the 1st pl. when speaking on behalf of a group, as in YH 35. 2, 3, and passim; so presumably 31. 1 tā vē uruuaţ marento aguštā vacā sōnghamahī, ‘minding these rules of yours, we proclaim unheeded words’; 28. 5, 6, 7, 9. Likewise, when Mazdā speaks in the 1st pl. at 32. 2 spenţam vā ārmaitūm … varamaitī; hā nō aŋhat, ‘your liberal piety we adopt: it shall be ours’, or at 34. 5, this is not to be taken as a pluralis maiestatis but as including the other higher entities that are constantly associated with him. It corresponds to the fact that in addressing Mazdā Zarathushtra alternates on no very clear principle between 2nd sg. and 2nd pl. forms (§122).

145. A speaker may refer to himself in the 3rd person: 33. 14 āt rātam Zaraduštrō tannyasućit x‘aśiiā uśtanem dadāti, ‘as offering, Zarathushtra gives his own body’s energy’; 43. 16 āt Ahurā, huuō mainiium Zaraduštrō varantē, ‘O Lord, this Zarathushtra chooses that will’; 50. 6 yō mādrā vācām, Mazdā, baraītī, … Zaraduštrō ‘the prophet who is bringing forth his voice, Mazdā—Zarathushtra’. Cf. 31. 6, where Mazdā is apparently answering Zarathushtra’s question as to what is best, ahmā aŋhat vahithem, yō mōi viduua vaocāt haidīm … Mazdāī awuṇat x‘aśrem, hīat hōi vohū vaxṣat manajhā, ‘it will go best for him who, knowing it, speaks my truth … that is dominion for Mazdā, what(ever) he increases for him through good thought’.

146. The 3rd sg. is often used with non-specific subject: 60 28. 2 āitaptā … yāiś rapantō dañcit x‘ābrē, ‘those blessings by which one could keep one’s supporters in felicity’; 29. 10 xśadremcē awuṇat … yā hušoitiś rāmancē dāt, ‘and that dominion by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace’, cf. 53. 8; 30. 4 atcē hīat tā hōm mainiitū jasaētēm paouruutim, dazdē gaemcē ajiitītimcē, ‘once those two wills join battle, a man takes for himself life or non-life’; 34. 12 srūdīṭā,

59 As by Wackernagel (1926–8), i. 100.
60 Cf. Delbrück iii. 127–9.
Mazdā, frāuuaocā, yā vi.dāiiāt ašīš rāśnām, ‘proclaim for our hearing, Mazdā, how (the one responsible) may distribute the rewards of (thy) rulings’; cf. 30. 7; 32. 7; 33. 6, 9; 43. 7, 10, 14; 47. 2; 48. 1; 49. 7; 50. 3, 4, 5.

147. The 3rd pl. is occasionally used with non-specific subject: 27. 13 Ahurāiiā, yim drigubītō dadaṭ vāstāram, ‘for the Lord, whom they give as herdsman to the poor’; 46. 1 pairi x’aētōus airīiamnascā dadaītī, ‘they set me apart from clan and tribe’; 46. 9 išenī mà tā tōi, ‘do they put those things into practice for thee?’

Voice

148. The paradigms contain a full array of active and middle forms, and a couple of forms with distinctively passive function; otherwise passive sense is expressed with middle forms, as in 29. 4 yā zī vāuu̯r̮ezôi ... yācā varešaitê, ‘those that have been done and those that will be done’, cf. 33. 1; 48. 5; 30. 8 vôuu̯mīdāiê ‘will be found’; 30. 10 yaojantê ‘will be yoked’; 31. 14 dadaṇtê ‘will be given’; 32. 7 sēnghaitê ‘are decreed’; 34. 1–2 dastê ... dātā ‘is offered ... are given’.

149. Of some 149 verbs that occur in the texts in finite forms, about two thirds are found only in the active, and some two dozen only in the middle. With some of these latter the middle form is natural in view of the subject-internal, self-referential, or reciprocal sense of the verb: aog- ‘declare (about oneself)’; gərez- ‘complain’; rud- ‘lament’; gūš- ‘open one’s ears, listen’; man- ‘think’; sar- ‘unite (with)’; uruu̯āz- ‘be happy’; vah- ‘clothe oneself’; var- ‘choose for oneself’; vaz- ‘get married’.

150. Certain verbs are found only in the active when used on their own, but in the middle when linked with a preverb:

gam- ‘go’: twice middle with hôm, ‘come together’, of two adversaries meeting in conflict (30. 4; 44. 15); eight times with paieri, ‘attend’ a higher being in worship (28. 2; 50. 8; 51. 22; YH 36. 1, 3, etc.); but active of approaching a person (43. 7, etc.).

i- ‘go’: once middle with ā and twice with paitī ā, in the same sense as paieri gam- (31. 2[?]; 34. 6; 50. 9); also 33. 7 ā idūm, ‘come ye’, in a prayer.61

mru- ‘speak’: but 49. 3 antara ... mruiiē, ‘I interdict’ (from my company).

nas- ‘reach, attain’: once middle with frā (43. 14), but once also active (46. 8).

pā- ‘protect’: but 28. 11 and 49. 10 ni.pājhwē, ‘thou keepest for thyself’.

61 I am not persuaded by the view that these examples are to be referred to the verb yā-. It is noteworthy that middle verbs are favoured in connection with ritual activity, as with yaz- ‘worship’; cf. §151.
*Verbs*

**vid-** ‘know’ (in perfect active): but 33. 8 frō mōi vōizdūm areθā (aor. middle), ‘take note of my endeavours’.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baj-</td>
<td>have/get (trans.) as one’s share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vī ci-</td>
<td>distinguish between (trans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dānḫ-</td>
<td>teach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dā-</td>
<td>give; place, establish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fras-</td>
<td>ask (trans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frāḏ-</td>
<td>promote, tend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kar-</td>
<td>make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frā nas-</td>
<td>reach, arrive at (46. 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>par-</td>
<td>fill, fulfil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sru-</td>
<td>hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vēreẓ-</td>
<td>do, act on, bring into effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vid-</td>
<td>find, acquire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other cases it is difficult to detect any difference in meaning. How does 44. 4 daratā ‘held’ or ‘holds’ (the earth from beneath) differ from 49. 2 dōrešt ‘grasps, embraces’ (piety)? Or 48. 12 yōi xšnūm vohū maṇaṇṭhā hacāntē … ḫβa-hiṭā … sēṅghaḥiṭā, ‘who by good thought follow what satisfies thy law’, from 53. 2 sćantū maṇaṇṭhā … xšnūm Mazdā, ‘let them by their thought follow what satisfies Mazdā’? Or 53. 6 maṇaḥīm ahūm marangedūiē, ‘you ruin spiritual life’, from 45. 1 nōiṭ daibītiṃ duśsastiś ahūm mōrṇśiīiē, ‘may the false teacher not be ruining life a second time’? Or 32. 4 vaŋhōuṣ sīḍdiamnā maṇaṇṭhō, ‘retreating from good thought’ from 34. 9 aēibīiō maš ašā sīizdaz, ‘from them (Good Thought) will retreat a long way with Right’? Or, within 46. 1, nōiṭ mā xšnāuš, ‘does not please me’, from kaṭh ḫβā, Mazdā, xšnaoṣāi, ‘how am I to please thee, Mazdā?’ In this last case one might wonder whether the middle is conditioned by the man–god relationship; cf. what was noted above about pairī gam- and (paipī) ā-i-, and also 28. 1 vaŋhōuṣ xratūm maṇaṇṭhō yā xšnwuiiśā goṣcā uruudām, ‘by which thou (Mazdā) couldst gratify (middle) Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’; 46. 18 xšmākam vārem xšṇoṣānnō, ‘satisfying your (Mazdā’s and Right’s) preference’.

**Aspect**

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

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

The present: aorist opposition

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

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

45. 1 nū °gūśodūm, nū +sraotā, ‘now listen ye (open-ended), now hear ye (= take in my particular message)’.
49. 1 +gaidī mōi, ā mōi °rapū, ‘come to me (event), support me (open-ended)’.
45. 11 yas.tā daēuṇōng ... mašūṣcā +tarōmastā yōi īm °tarōmainiiaṇtā, ‘he who so scornt (once and for all) the Daevas and mortals who scorn him (habitually)’.

ar-: 46. 3 kadā, Mazdā, yōi uxšānō asṇām ... frō ... +ārōntē?, ‘when, Mazdā, will those Oxen of Days come forth? (event)’ :: 53. 8 °īrātī iš duuafoś huuō ... mazištō, ‘let that greatest woe be coming upon them’ (open-ended).

baj-: 31. 10 aṭ hī aśiā +frauwartā vāstrīm ... nōiṭ ... awāstriiō ... humōretōiś +baxštā, ‘but she of those two chose the herdsman … the non-herdsman did not get her goodwill’ :: 47. 5 aṣāunē +cōiś yā zī cīcā vahištā; hanara ūbāhmāt zaoštā droguatā +baxšātū, ‘thou didst assign to the righteous one what best things there be soever; it is without thy favour that the wrongful one partakes of them’.

vī ci-: 46. 15 hīiaṭ dāḥōṅg vī +cāiātā adāḏqcā, tāśī yūś šītāoḏnāiś ašṭām xšmaibiiś +dāutīē, ‘when ye distinguish (once and for all) between the just and the unjust, by those actions ye shall win right for yourselves’ :: 46. 17 yā vī °cinaot dāḥomcā adāḥomcā, ‘(the Caring One) who distinguishes (habitually) between the just man and the unjust’.

fras-: 31. 12 ānuḥ.haxś Ārmaitiś mainiuiś °peresaitē, ‘Piety debates point by point with the will’ :: 44. 8 yācā Vohū uxōā +frasī Manaṇāhā, ‘and the words spoken by Good Thought which I obtained in consultation’.

gam-: 30. 8 yadā æšām kaēnā +jamiatē aenāŋḥām, ‘when the requital comes for their misdeeds’ :: 46. 8 paitiaogat tā ahmāt °jasōit duuaēṣanjhā, ‘may those (actions of his) recoil on him (open-ended) with hostility’.
man-: 43. 4 at ḍṛṣṭā +mēṅghāi taxmancā spōṃtām ... hiiat mōi vaṅhōùś hazē +jimāt manahāhō; ‘I shall think thee and bounteous when the force of good thought comes to me (event)’ :: 43. 9 rāṭaṃ nomanahō ... yaunat ṣisāi, ṣunīiāi, ‘the tribute of reverence, so far as I can, I will be thinking of’.

niś nas-: 44. 13 kaḍā druṣm niś ahmat ā +nāśāmā; ‘how are we to drive Wrong out from ourselves (once and for all)?’ :: 50. 2 akāṣ tāṃ mā niś ṣisīa, dādēm +dāhūa, ‘keep driving out those evil ones, adopt the just one’.

saṃ-: 31. 1 agūṣṭā vacā ṣoṇghahāhāi aebīiō yōi ... ‘we proclaim (now and regularly) words unheeded by those who ...’ :: 44. 1 fritāi ḍṛṣṭāuas +sāxīāt mawuaitē, ‘one like thee might inform a friend such as me’ (= communicate a specific piece of information). Similarly:

sāḥ-: 50. 6 rāṣṭra Vohū ṣāhīṭ Manahāhā, ‘may he teach me his rules with Good Thought’ (open-ended) :: 43. 3 at huuō vaṅhōùś vahīīō nā +aibījamiīiāt, yō nā aezūs savahō paōō +sīsīōt, ‘may that man attain better than the good who should teach us the straight paths of benefit’.

sīṣèd-: 34. 9 aebīiō maś aṣā +sīiaza, ‘from them it (Piety) will retreat a great distance with Right’ :: 32. 4 yā māṣīiā aciṣṭā dantō +vāsānte daētuuos zuṣṭā.

Vaiṇhōuṣ ṣoṇḍiaiṃnā Manahāhō, ‘the worst things, by doing which mortals are to wax Daeva-favoured, retreating (habitually) from Good Thought’.

var- ‘persuade’: 31. 3 hiiat uruwūtum cazdoṅhuuadobiō, tāt nō ... +vaocā ... yā juvāntō vīṣpōṇg +vāuraíaā, ‘the rule that is for the prudent, tell us that, by which I might convince everyone alive’ :: 31. 17 katārēṃ ašauuā vā dṛgguuā vā +vēraunuaitē maziioi? ‘which of the two, the righteous one or the wrongful, will be the more persuasive?’

vĕrēz-: 48. 5 yaoḍdā ... zāḥom ... gauuoī +vēreziitāṃ, ‘let purification of breeding be effected (as a general principle) for the cow’ :: 51. 1 tāt nō nucīt +vāsaṇē, ‘this I will put into effect for us right now’.

vid- ‘find’: 31. 15 duḥśītaođānāi ... yā noṣṭ jiiōtūm hanara +vīnastī vāstrīehīiā aēnahō, ‘the evil-doer who finds no livelihood without wrongdoing the herdsman’ :: 51. 5 yāddā ... gai +vīdaṭ vāstrīiō śītaiñāiś vṛśūuō, ‘how a herdsman upright in his actions obtains a cow’.

xśā-: normally present-stem, ‘rule’; in 48. 5 huxṣādṛā +xśēntqm, mā nō duṣ-xṣādṛā +xśēntā the aorists perhaps have ingressive force, ‘let good rulers assume rule over us, let not bad rulers do so’.

xśну-: 51. 12 noṣṭ tā im +xśnūuś vaēpiīō Kāuunīo poratā ..., hiiat ahmi urū-rast aṣtō, ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing, that the emissary had barred his way at it’ :: 28. 1 vaiṇhōuṣ xratām manahāhō yā +xśnuuṣā gūṣcā uruuiom, ‘by which thou couldst gratify Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’ (open-ended).

zą-: 50. 7 at vō ‘yaojā zuuiśtiūong auruatō ... yāś ā +žādā, ‘I will yoke you the swiftest steeds, with which ye will win’ :: 30. 10 āsiśṭā +yaojanṭā ā huśi-huśi.
tōiš Vajhūš Managho, … yōi əzazanti vajhāu srauuahi, (when the world is made perfect) ‘the swiftest steeds will be yoked from Good Thought’s fair dwelling … and they will be first in good repute’ (not in a particular race but generally).

The perfect

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

(ad-) ād- ‘declare, have made a declaration (of enduring validity)’: 43. 9, 15; YH 35. 8.

(cit-) cikōit-/cicit- ‘understand; be conspicuous: 32. 11; 43. 2.

(hi-) hišāii- ‘hold bound’: 29. 1.

(rud-) urūraod- ‘be blocking’: 51. 12.

(uruuæ-) vaoræ- ‘be happy’: 50. 5.

(yat-) yōit- ‘be engaged, busy’: 28. 9.

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

ah-: 44. 20 cītonā, Mazdā, huxsaôrā daêuuā ənharē, … yōi əpišieîntű aeribîiō kəm, yāś ..., ‘what, Mazdā, have the Daevas been good rulers, they that blaspheme(?) for the sake of those with whom …’. The perfect is here used in reference to a past that continues into the present.62

ar- ‘start into motion’; for present and aorist examples see above, §153.

The perfect signifies something like ‘is up and running, is established as a principle’: 33. 9 aiiā ārīi häkurānām, ‘the fellowship of those two is established’; cf. 34. 3; 50. 5.

dar-: 49. 2 nōiṭ spɔntŋm +dôreṣt ahmāi stōi Ārmaitiṃ, ‘(the wrongful teacher) does not embrace/has not (yet) embraced bountous Piety to make her his’ :: 51. 8 yō Ašom dadrē, ‘he who has embraced Right’ (once and for all).

dā-: 28. 4 yō uruûānom mōn gairē … dadē, ‘I that have taken my soul in mind for praise-song’ (or dadē may be present, in which case it belongs under §161); YH 40. 1 hiiat mįţdom … frađadāďā daēnäbiitō, ‘the reward that thou hast appointed for (good) moral selves’.

nas-: 32. 4 Vajhūš əsîdîiannā Managho, Mazdā Ahurahīiā xratōuš ‘nasıianţō, ‘retreating from Good Thought, losing the way from Lord Mazdā’s sapience’ :: 51. 13 yēhiā uruuā ‘xraodaitī Cinuwatō pərətā … Ašahīiā nąsuuā padō, ‘whose soul will torment him at the Arbiter’s Crossing, lost from the path of Right’.

62 Cf. Delbrück ii. 211–15. Likewise 44. 13 yōi … nōiṭ frasaitiā Vajhūš cōxnarē Managho, ‘who have not (ever) taken pleasure in consulting Good Thought’.
Verbs

156. A special use of the perfect is seen in phrases referring to the totality of past, present, and future: 33. 10 vispās tā hujiitāiio vā zi āŋharā yāscā ʰoŋtī yāscā ... ʰuuaŋtī, ‘all those good lives that have been and those that are and those that shall come into being’, cf. 45. 7 yōi zi juuā āŋharaćā buantaćā; 51. 22 yōi āŋharaćā haontaći; 29. 4 yā zi vāuarazőoi pari ciibit ... yacā ʰvaresaitē aiipi ciibit, ‘things that have been done in the past and things that may be done in future’; YH 39. 2 ya.stamp vahehīs daenā ʰvanairtī vā ʰvōŋhan vā vaonarā vā, ‘those whose better selves prevail or will prevail or have prevailed’. In each case the totality and all its constituents are of present relevance, but that does not seem entirely to account for the use of the perfect. A stronger factor may have been the impulse to use the three different forms of stem for the three contrasted tenses; the alternative would have been to use the present or aorist stem twice, marking it with the augment for the past.

Tense and Modality

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

Present time

158. The category of the present embraces: an action or activity taking place simultaneously with the utterance, or constituted by the utterance itself; a static situation obtaining at the time; a recurrent event that may not be happening at the moment but is known to happen sometimes and may be expected to happen again; a timeless truth.
159. Any of these may be expressed with the present indicative, that is, the present stem with the so-called primary personal endings. This is regular in performative utterances, that is, those which themselves constitute the action described: 28. 1, 8 yāsā ‘I pray’; 31. 1 sāngāmāhī ‘we proclaim’; 31. 14 pāresā ‘I ask’; 37. 1 aojōi ‘I declare’; 32. 9 gerezē ‘I complain’; 33. 14 Zarađu-strō … dadāiī ‘Zarathushtra dedicates’; 49. 3 antaro … mruīiē ‘I interdict’; YH 35. 5 dadomahicā cīṣmahicā huuṣṇmahicā, ‘we dedicate and assign and institute’; 37. 1 iā barī yazamāiīe Ahuram Mazdām, ‘in this way we worship Lord Mazdā’.

160. So too in statements of mental disposition: 29. 8 vaṣṭī, ‘he wishes’; 29. 9 and 44. 3 vasmi, ‘I wish’; 33. 6 kāii ē iziīā, ‘I desire … I long’; 34. 4 usōmahī, ‘we wish’; 34. 12 kaṭ vaṣti? ‘what dost thou wish?’; 43. 16 huuo mai-niīūm Zarađu-strō varaiīe, ‘this Zarathushtra chooses that will’, cf. 46. 3; 44. 7 auuāmi ‘I am eager’; 44. 11 mainiiōus spasiīā duuaēṣajhā, ‘I regard with hostility of spirit’; 49. 2 aṭ ahiīā mā bōnduuahīīī mānaīiīiīī tkaēśō droguūā, ‘of this polluted(?) the wrongful teacher puts me in mind’; 49. 6 frō và iṣiīā … mruīiē, ‘I desire you to speak’.

161. Of current activity or situation: 32. 8 aēṣamiīē ā ahmī ḍbahmī … viciīīōi aipi, ‘in respect of these (deeds) I am (waiting) upon thy decision’; 46. 1 paiī rī xēiīōūs awitternmača dadaitī, ‘they set me apart from clan and tribe’; 50. 1 kaṭ mōi uruuī īsē cahiī āuuṇajhō? ‘does my soul command any succour?’; 50. 6 yā maērī vācom … baraiīe, ‘this prophet who is bringing forth his voice’; and so perhaps 28. 4, see §155.

162. Of general truths: 27. 14 aśem vohū, vahīstom astī, ‘right is good, it is the best existing’; 28. 3 yaēbiīōo xšabracă … varedaiī ārmaitīs, ‘you whose dominion piety increases’, cf. 44. 6; 43. 6 ḍbahīiīā xratōūs, yēm naēciī dābatieīiī, ‘of thy sapience, which no one deceives’; 49. 10 tatcā, Mazdā, ḍbahmi ā dam nipājhe, ‘and that (reward), Mazdā, thou keepest in thy house’; 53. 9 duž-uuarenaiīs vaēśō rāstī, ‘because of ill-choosers decay takes hold’.

163. Where the reference is to recurrent phenomena or habitual action, the present indicative is sometimes used, as in 30. 4 (when the two Wills join battle.) dazdē gaeimcē ajīiātīīm, ‘a man takes for himself life or non-life’; 31. 12 a♭rā vācom baraiīi mi♭bah.uuacă vā erau.uuacă vā, ‘there speaks forth either one of false words or one of straight words’; ibid. ānu,haxs Ārmaitis mainiiīi parasaiīeīe, ‘Piety debates point by point with the will’; 43. 10 aṭ tuī mōi dāiś aśam, hīiāt mā zaɔaomī, ‘show me thou Right, that one I (constantly) invoke’; 44. 3 kā yā mā uxiiieīiī ēnorfasaiīī ḍbaṭ? ‘who is it through whom the moon waxes or wanes?’; 47. 4 ahmī mainiiōus vīraśieītīī druuguaṇtō, ‘from this Will the wrongful deflect people’. More often, however, we find the present or aorist injunctive, that is, the temporally and modally neutral forms that lack the specific markers of present or past time and are marked only for aspect: 30. 3 ascā hudaihō oraē vīsiiāā, nōiṭ duḏadagho, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly, but ill-doers do not’; 30. 5 aiiī mainiiuūa
+vareta yē dreguua acištā vareziō, ‘of those two Wills, the wrongful one chooses
the worst things to do’; 30. 6 at aēsomom ⁴hōn.duvaarentā, yē ⁴bnaïen ahīm
maratāno, ‘(the Daevas) scurry together to the violence with which mortals
blight the world’; 32. 5 tā ⁴dabanaatā mašīm hujīāatīs, ‘so ye lure the mortal
from good living’; 32. 9 dušasatiš srauua ⁴mōranda ... apō mā īśīm ⁴vantā, ‘the
false teacher perverts good repute, he takes away enablement’.

164. Perfect-stem verbs are used where appropriate in describing a current
state of affairs, as in 28. 9 yōī vē voīdumā dasemē stūtum, ‘we who are busy
in the offering of your praises’; 29. 1 ā mā aēsomō hazascā remō hiśāiā, ‘fury and
force and cruelty hold me bound’; 32. 11 yōī draguuntō ... cīkōiteres ... 
apaiieitī, ‘the wrongful ones who have distinguished themselves by depriving’.

165. The aorist indicative is used when the speaker reports a perception
that has just come to him: 45. 8–10 tōm ... nū zī iʧ cašmainī vi.ādarašem ... yē
qmōnī Mazdā srauua Ahurō, ‘him I have just now discerned in my eye ... him
who has become heard in my soul, Lord Mazdā’; 43. 5 spoṇtum at ūšā, Mazdā,
mānhū ... hiiať ūšā aŋhēus zaβōi ⁴darašem paouruum, ‘bounteous I think thee,
Mazdā, as soon as I see thee at the genesis of the world’, cf. 29. 10; 31. 8; 46.
13 tōm vē Ašā mōhmaidī hušhaxūm, ‘we apprehend him as your and Right’s
good friend’; YH 35. 7 Ahurahiiā zī at vē Mazdā yasnoemēc vahmōemēc vahištem
amōhmaidī, ‘but it is Lord Mazdā’s worship and praise that we apprehend as the
greatest good’; 43. 11 sādrā mōi sas mašiiaēšū rzađātiš, ‘trust in mortals strikes
me as grief’; 46. 10 tāciṭ mōi sas tuuωm, Mazdā, vaṇđiiōtō, ‘of those things thou,
Mazdā, appearest to me (as it strikes me) the best provider’.

166. A similar type of momentary aorist may be seen in performative function
in 32. 2 spoṇtum vē ārmaitūm ... varəmaitū, ‘your liberal piety we adopt’; YH
35. 3 tāt at varəmaitū ... hiiať i mainišadica vaocōimacā varezimacā yā ..., ‘we
choose to think and speak and do those things that ...’. Where the present
stem of var- is used (43. 16 and 46. 3, cited in §160), we may take it as a de-
scription of attitude or principle as opposed to a declaration of commitment.

Future time

167. The future by definition consists of what has not happened yet, so it can-
not be spoken of in such definite terms as the present or past. Only a few
things can be predicted with certainty: in six months it will be winter; in two
hundred years you and I will be dead. But for the most part propositions about
the future are not statements of fact but of expectation, surmises subject to
varying degrees of uncertainty. Even when I say what I myself am going to do,
it is not logically on all fours with a statement of what I am now doing or have
done in the past, it is a declaration of intent or resolve.

It is no accident that the only Old Avestan verb form described in the
grammars as a future is restricted to the first person singular: vaṣšītā ‘I will
II. Morphosyntax

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

**169.** In first-person statements of intent or resolve: 28. 4 *yauuaṭ* ॐisāi ॐtāumācā, *auuāt* ॐxāsī aēṣē Aṣāhīi, ‘so long as I have the ability and strength, I will look out in search of Right’, cf. 43. 9; 32. 1 ḍḥoi ḍūtāḥhō ॐanāmā, ‘we will be thy messengers’; 34. 3 ṛṣ toī miiζdɔm … *dāmā gaēḏā vǐsāpā ā xṣābrōi, ‘as thy oblation we will give into thy dominion all our living bodies’; 51. 10 maibiiō ॐzbaiiā Aṣām, ‘for myself I will call upon Right’; 51. 22 tū ṛvāziī xāiś nāmōnīś pairicā ॐjasāi vāntā, ‘I will worship them under their own names and attend them with devotion’.

**170.** In a third-person statement equivalent to a first-person decision: 32. 2 *sponsemt vē ārmaitim … varemaidī; hā nō ॐanḥat, ‘your liberal piety we adopt; it shall be ours’.

**171.** In predictions or assurances: 29. 4 adā [nā] ॐanḥat, yaḥā huuō vasaṭ, ‘it will be as he will’; 30. 8 taibiiō xṣābrām Vohu Manahī ॐvōiūūdāṭē, ‘for thee will be found dominion with Good Thought’; 30. 10 adā zī auuā Drūjō ʿbuwaiṭi ʿskandō spaiabrählīi, ʿat āsištā ʿvaojantē ʿhuṣītoīs Vajhōūs Manahō, ‘for then destruction will come down upon Wrong’s prosperity, and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked from Good Thought’s fair dwelling’; 31. 5 viduītē … tācīt … yā nōit vā ॐanḥat ʿanhalīi vā, ‘to know those things that will not be, or will be’; 31. 14 tā … yā zī ā ʿaētti ʿjēnghatīcā, ‘those things that are approaching and will come’; 47. 1 ahmaīi ʿdān hauruūdāt āmōrētātā, ‘they will give him health and life’; 51. 14 yē īsi sēṃghō apēṃm Drūjō dēmānē ā ṛdā, ‘a teaching that will consign them at the last to the house of Wrong’.

**172.** In questions about the future: 28. 5 Aṣā, kat ᷟṛā ʿdarasāmī? ‘O Right, shall I see thee?’; 44. 8 kā mō uruūa vohū ʿuruuāxṣat āgmātā? ‘to what good destinations will my soul set forth?’; 46. 3 kadā, Mazdā, yōi uxśānō asṇām … frō … ʿārēnte?, ‘when, Mazdā, will those Oxen of Days come forth?’; 48. 2 kat aṣauuā … ʿvēnghat drēguantɔm? ‘will the righteous one vanquish the wrongful?’

**173.** In deliberative questions: 44. 13 kadā druṣom nīś ahmaṭ ā ʿnāsāmā ‘how are we to drive Wrong out from ourselves?’; 44. 17 kadā zarem ʿcarāmī ‘how am I to travel towards my goal?’; 46. 1 kām namōi zam, kuṭrā namōi ʿaieni? … kadā ᷟṛā, Mazdā, ʿxśnaošāī? ‘what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge? … How am I to please thee, Mazdā?’
174. With a perfect-stem verb, naturally, the perfect subjunctive is used: 48. 9 kaṭ ā vaēdā? ‘shall I know?’; 50. 5 ārōi ẓi xšmā ... hiiat yušmākāi mātrānē vaorā-zađā, ‘for it is settled by you that ye will look gladly upon your prophet’.

175. Occasionally in rhetorical questions that have to be translated with future verbs we find not the subjunctive but the in j u n c t i v e : 48. 10 kadā, Mazdā maṅaroīś narō ʰvisentā? kadā ā ʰjēn mūdrom ahiiā madahiiā? ‘when, Mazdā, will the men of Observance(?) be standing ready? When will one strike out at the piss of this liquor?’; 51. 4 kuḍrā ārōiś ā fṣratus, kuḍrā mereždikā ʰxstat? ‘where will respect(?) appear out of harm, where mercy?’

Past time

176. For past events or situations that the speaker knows of from his own experience or from hearsay that he regards as reliable, verb forms with the so-called secondary endings are used, with or (more often) without the augment. Where the augment is lacking, these forms are formally classed as conjunctives, but as in this function they seem completely equivalent to augmented forms, it seems justifiable to regard them as imperfect and aorist indicatives.

It is sometimes uncertain whether the augment or the preverb ā is to be recognized. The following are plausible examples of a u g m e n t e d f o r m s : 30. 3 asruuātōm ‘they made themselves heard’; 32. 3 asrūḏum ‘you made yourselves renowned’; 45. 8 viiādarasom = vi. adarason ‘I (have just) discerned’; 46. 9 uzōmōhi ‘I found out(?)’; 51. 11 afraštā ‘has taken counsel’ and acistā ‘has gained insight’; 53. 7 aŋṣat ‘lost its way’; YH 35. 7 amōhmaidī ‘we (have just) apprehend(ed)’; 36. 6 aauāčī ‘was named’.

177. These are all aorists, and in general aorists greatly outnumber i m p e r f e c t s . Examples of the latter are: 31. 9 ῥsōi as ārmaitiś, ῥsō ā gōuš taśā as xra-tuś mainiīōuś, Mazdā Ahurā, hiiat axiīāi dadā paṭām, ‘thine was piety, thine was the cow-fashion sapience of will, Lord Mazdā, when thou didst offer her a path’; 34. 8 tāś ... śiaōdhnāś ... yaeśu as pourubiō iḥtejō ... ; yōi nōit aśem mainiianṭā, aēbiōō diūrē vohū as manō, ‘by those actions in which there was danger to many ... from those who were not thinking on Right, good thought was far away’.

178. The a o r i s t p a s s i v e in -ī is sometimes used almost like a perfect, of past events that are significant for the present: 32. 8 aēṣam aēṇaṭhām Viuwaṭ- huśō sṛauū, ‘for these offences Vivahvant’s son became (is) renowned’, cf. 53. 1; 44. 18 kadā aṣā tāt mūdöm hanānī ... hiiat mōi mazdā apīuvaṭi? ‘how am I

63 So A: ʰvisentē or -ṣti (indicative) other manuscripts.
64 Both halves of the line are a syllable shorter than the norm, and Kuiper suggested (ap. Monna 24) that as represents an augmented (disyllabic) form; so Beekes 151.
rightfully to earn that reward, now that mindfulness has been instilled in me?’. 43. 13 vairııa stölıš, yä ḏahkanı xšaebraı vāčı, ‘a desirable thing that has been (is) said (to lie) in thy domain’; YH 36. 6 auiat yāt huuraa auiāci, ‘that sun ever since it was named’.

179. Where action begun in the past continues into the present, the present tense is used: 32. 4 yāt yași tā frāmīmadā, ‘ever since you have been enjoining those things’; cf. §245.

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

Mythical time

181. Zarathushtra sometimes refers to mythical or imaginary events. When it is traditional myth set in a quasi-historical past and presumably accepted as historical, there was no reason to treat it differently from other past narrative. In the prime example, 32. 8 aēšqm aēnaŋjam Vituaŋhusō srāuu Yimascit, yā mašiêŋg cixšnušō ahmākēŋg gōuš bagā xʾāremnō, ‘for these offences Vivahvant’s son became renowned, even Yima, who sought to gratify our mortal race by feeding them portions of the cow’, the only finite verb, srāuu, is an (unaugmented) aorist passive; cf. §178.

When Zarathushtra speaks of what Mazdā did at the beginning of the world, or of other original events that determined the present cosmic order, he is evidently not following any tradition but creating his own speculative narrative; in 45. 3 he says that he has received knowledge of these things from Mazdā. The relevant passages are 30. 3; 31. 3, 7–11; 43. 5; 44. 3, 5, 7; 45. 2; 47. 3; 48. 6; 51. 7. From a grammatical point of view they are generally treated in the same way as other narrative, except that in two places we find anomalous subjunctives: 45. 2 at frauuaʃxiia aŋhōuš mainiiu paouruiie, yaiia spanii ait uii ait mrauaat yōm angrōm, ‘I will tell forth the two Wills at the world’s beginning, of whom the Bounteous one *speak* thus to the Hostile one’; 48. 6 at axtiai aša Mazdā uruuaar +vaxșat Ahurō aŋhōuš zgdōi paouruiiehii, ‘and for her (the cow) with Right Lord Mazdā *grow* the plants at the engendering of the first existence’. Clearly these do not refer to the future from Zarathushtra’s

66 Following P. Thieme’s interpretation of api.uuai as ‘blown into’ (Asiatica [Festschr. Fr. Weller, Leipzig 1954], 661), and taking mazdā as the fem. noun found in YH 40. 1. One would have expected api.uuai.
viewpoint; but it is possible to interpret them as future relative to the point of past time indicated, expressing the agent’s intention or the impending development. The meaning would be in 45. 2 ‘in the beginning were the two Wills, and (the next thing to happen was to be that) the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one’; in 48. 6, ‘it was for her that Lord Mazdā, when he was engendering the first existence, was going to (planned to) grow the plants’. A few similar examples occur in the Younger Avesta.⁶⁷ Cf. also §246 (end).

In Y. 29 we have a poem built round an imagined dialogue involving Zarathushtra himself, the Cow’s soul, the Maker of the Cow, Right, and Mazdā. If it is conceived to have a place in time at all, it must be assigned to the present. The story is told in present and aorist injunctives, except that once again we encounter an isolated subjunctive. After the Maker of the Cow asks Right a question (29. 2 tašā gōuš parasat Ašam, pres. inj.), we have in 29. 3 ahmāi Ašā … pañī mrawaT, ‘to him Right *answer*’. This may be explained on the same lines as the cases discussed in the preceding paragraph: in relation to the Maker of the Cow’s question, the answer is what is to come. It is as if the narrative time does not advance from the moment of the question to that of the answer but remains for the moment arrested, and the answer is treated as the subject of anticipation rather than report.

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

Potentiality

182. The evocation of possible events or states may relate to the past, present, or future. Situated in the past or present, they fall into two categories: counterfactual possibilities (what might have been, or would have been in other circumstances, but in fact was not/is not), and cases where the speaker does not know whether the possibility was realized or not (what may have been or may actually be the case).⁶⁸ Future possibilities can in principle be counterfactual (if contingent on something known to be untrue), but these seldom play a part in normal discourse. We speak of things that will or would happen under certain conditions, or that may perhaps happen, or that might possibly happen.

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⁶⁸ In contemporary English there is a deplorable tendency to use ‘may have’ in counterfactual sentences instead of ‘might have’. People say things like ‘it was a close thing; I may have died’, which in correct English means ‘I have perhaps died’.
There is no mention in the Old Avestan texts of counterfactual possibilities.

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

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

The optative expresses a remoter possibility, or one that is raised more diffidently for reasons of politeness: 28. 5 anā mābrā mazištam *vārōimaidī xrafter hīzuũa, ‘with this prescript we might most fully convince the predators with our tongue’ (or this could be a wish, ‘may we convince’); 43. 2 aṭcā ahmā višpan্ம vahīštam x̡a̲ḏr̲ōi a nā x̡a̲ḏr̲̂ēm ṫaïdītā Ḩcīhī… Ḩcīhī…, ‘but as best of all in (the sphere of) well-being, a man might receive well-being by understanding …’; 43. 14 hīaṭ nā frīiā vaēdemnō isuũa ṫaïdīt, ‘what a man of means, on finding it for himself, might offer his friend’, cf. 44. 1; 46. 2; 51. 8 aṭ zī tōi vaxśiīa, Mazda—vīdūsē zī nā ṫmṛuiiā, ‘I will tell thee Mazda—of course a man (in speaking to Mazda) could (only) be speaking to one who knows’.

In questions: kaṭā aṭīrē daxśarā frašaiīā ṫiśā? ‘how mightest thou take a day (for me) to ask teaching?’ (polite request); 44. 9 kaṭā mōi, yam yaoś daēn̡ām ṫān̡e, tām hudānaoś paitiś *saxīiā x̡a̲ḏr̲ahiiā, ‘the religion that I will perfect for myself, how might the master of a beneficient dominion proclaim it for me?’; 44. 11 kaṭā tōng ā *vījēmiiāt ārmaitiś, yaeibītō…, ‘how might piety spread to those to whom …? ’; 44. 14; 50. 2.

As with the subjunctive, there are many instances of the potential optative in relative clauses; see §§226, 250–1.

The other basic function of the optative is to express wishes, as in 30. 9 aṭcā tōi vaēm ॐśīūō, yōi im frašōm keronnōn ahūm, ‘may we be those who will make this existence splendid’; 43. 3 aṭ huû̲o vāŋhōû̲s vahīō nā *aibījamiiāt, yō nā orezūū saunawhō paño *śiśōt, ‘but may that man attain better than the good, who should show us the straight paths of benefit’; 43. 16 x̡oṅg darāsōi… ॐśīū Ārmaitiś; aṣīm šiiaudnāiś vohū ṫaïdīt manahū, ‘may Piety be there in sight of the sun; may she be giving reward on account of actions with good thought’; 45. 9 varezī nā *diīat Ahurō, ‘may the Lord set us in action’; 48. 9 vīdīīat sao-
šiäs, yašt hōi aśiš apjhat, ‘may the Promoter know how his reward is to be’;
50. 6 rāzōng Vohu ²sāhi Manahā, ‘may he teach me his rules with Good Thought’.

187. A second-person wish addressed to a higher power constitutes a prayer:
50. 7 mahmār ²xität aumahē, ‘may ye be there for my succour’; YH 36. 2 ur-
uruōtōtō huuō nā yātiät ²pāti jamati, ‘as the most joyous one mayest thou come
for our supplicating’, cf. 41. 3, 4.

188. The negative used with the optative in wishes is nōit: 28. 9 aśiš vā nōit...
yāniś ²zaraēnā, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you’; 45. 1 nōit
daibītum dušasti ahūm ²morāšti, ‘may the false teacher not be ruining the
world a second time’; 46. 8 nōit ahiät mā ābrīś šītāōnāś frā ²asīiāt, ‘may harm
not reach me from his actions’.

Requests, injunctions, prohibitions

189. The optative may also be prescriptive: 46. 5 tāt frō xə̄tāmē ²mruiiā, ‘he
should tell it to the clan’; negative, 43. 15 nōit nā pourūs dērguωtō ²xiit cix-
nušō, ‘a man should not be one to gratify the many wrongful’.

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

In invocations and prayers: 28. 3 a mōi rafōtārai zauuōn ²jasatā, ‘come to
my calls to give succour’; 28. 6 Vohu ²gādī Manahā, ²dādī Aśa dā daregāiū,
‘come with Good Thought, give with Right the gift of long life’; 28. 7, 10,
11; 29. 1; 33. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12; 43. 10; 44. 1, 16; 46. 7; 48. 9; 49. 1; 51. 3, 7.

In exhortations to men: 30. 2 ²sraotā gουšāiš vahištā, ā ²vaēnatā sūcā manap-
hā āuaranā, ‘hear with your ears the best message, behold with lucid mind the
two choices’; 46. 16 Frašaōštā, ābrā ā tu arodrāś ²idi, ‘Frashuśṭra, go with
those zealous ones’; 48. 7 nī aēšmō ²diiätām, pāti remām ²siiódūm, ‘let violence
be tied down, cut short cruelty’; 53. 3 ādā ²hóm frašuwał xraʃbā, spāništā ārmat-
tiš hudāni ²vršuwal, ‘so take counsel with thy reason; perform piety’s most
liberal benefactions’; 53. 5 mōncā ²dazdūm; ²vaēdōdūm daēnāšiš ... ahūm vā
vayhāuš manahō; āśa vē anitō ainim ²viuωŋhatā, ‘take these (precepts) to
heart; accept in your moralities the life of good thought; let one among you
vie with another in right’.

191. Where a vocative is present, the imperative may also be accompanied by
a second-person nom. pronoun: 28. 7 ²dādī tū, Ārmaitē. Vištāśpā īsēm mai-
bītācā, ‘give thou, Piety, enablement to Vištaśpa and myself’; 28. 1 tuuēm,
Mazdā Ahūrā, frō mā ²sišā, ‘teach thou me, Lord Mazdā’; 29. 11 āt mām aśā
yūžōm, Mazdā, ... ²pāti zānatā, ‘it is me by right that ye must acknowledge’; 53.
3 ²tēncā tū, Porucistā, ‘be thou resolute, Porucista’. (On tū cf. §283.)
192. Prohibitions are not expressed with a negated imperative but with mā and the injunctive; being an intrinsically prohibitive particle, mā does not call for a correspondingly marked verb form: 31. 17 vīduā vīdušē āmraotū, mā avāduā aipū ādāhūwāia, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing, let the unknowing delude no longer’ (with pres. injunctive, inhibitive of what is already happening); 48. 5 huxšađrā āxšēntam, mā nō duššađrā āxšēnta, ‘let good rulers assume rule, do not let bad rulers assume rule over us’ (aor. injunctive, preventive of what is feared for the future).

193. Following 31. 18 mačiš aṭ vō draguatto mābrāscā āgūštā, ‘let none of you heed the wrongful one’s prescripts’, the next stanza continues with āgūštā yā māntā aṣəm, ‘let him heed (rather) him who thinks on right’, where the injunctive āgūštā is repeated in the positive injunction from the negative one. There are other places too where an injunctive (mostly aorist) is used in a positive sentence with the effect of an imperative: 28. 7 (after dādī, Aṣa ... dādī tū, Ārmaitē ...) ādās, tū, Mazdā, āxšaiiācā, yā vō mābrā sauūmā rādā, ‘give thou, Mazdā, and exercise thy power (imperative), the prescript by which we might hear your favours’, cf. 43. 1; 49. 8; 34. 15 frašəm vasnā hāviium ādā ahūm, ‘make real the existence that is splendid in my desiring’; 43. 10 aṭ tū mōi ādās aṣəm, ‘show thou me Right’; 43. 12 Aṣəm ājasō, ‘go to Right’; perhaps 46. 2 āaxšo vaŋhōə sā ištīm manaŋhō, ‘behold (or thou seest) the potency of thought that is good through right’.

Infinitives

194. ‘Infinitive’ is the collective name given to various forms of nominal origin, but not having a place in a nominal paradigm, embodying a verbal concept and capable of exercising verbal rection. Where a preverb is associated with them, it modifies the sense of the verb (as described in §219); it does not, like a preposition governing a noun, carry information about the word’s syntactic status in the sentence.

Infinitive forms occur frequently in the Gāthās. One type, ending in -ō (< *-ah), appears to be of accusative origin, the rest of dative; there is no consistent distinction of functions, but note the observation in §196 on -ō infinitives as verb complements. In several cases we find more than one infinitive form from the same verb, and again it is unclear whether there is a real functional difference. Certain forms can be identified as made on a present or aorist stem. These are marked below with ° and + respectively; there seems no difficulty in seeing the appropriate aspectual significance where they occur.

70  For the various forms see Hoffmann–Forssman 240–3.
An infinitive may appear in apposition with a pronoun or noun to expand its content into a verb phrase: 44. 15 *yezî ahiîa aśā, pōi maṭ, xšaîiehā, ‘if thou hast this power with right, (namely) to protect me’; 43. 12 nōit asrūstā pairi.aovzā, ʿuz.iirādīiāi parā hīiṭ mōî ā jīmaṭ ..., ‘thou givest me advice that will not go unheeded, (namely) to set forth before there comes to me’; 51. 16 nāṣat ... yāṃ cīstīm aśā mantā, *spāntō Mazdā Ahurō, aḍā nō sazdīiā ustā, ‘he attained that insight which he meditated with right, (namely) to proclaim to us as desired, “Bounteous is Lord Mazdā”’.

An infinitive may serve as object or complement of verbs such as ‘wish’, ‘choose’. Three of the six examples of infinitives in -ō come under this head. The infinitive tends to come at the end of the clause, or to be followed only by the governing verb: 29. 8 huuo nō vaṣṭī ... carakaraṅhā ʿsrūuauieñē, ‘he wishes to broadcast our praises’, cf. 43. 9 ʿvūūuuduiiē; 44. 3 viduiiē; 46. 14 fra.sruūdīiiāi; 30. 5 verētā yō draguoṭa acīstā ʿvērēziō, ‘the wrongful one chooses to do the worst things’, or ‘chooses the worst things to do’; 50. 18 tāṃ cīstīm ... verōṇē, tāṭ xšaḍrom mananḥō vanjōuš ʿvīdo, ‘he chooses to find that insight, that realm of good thought’. Of the same type are 32. 14 hiīṭ viśōntā draguoṭam awuō, ‘when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one’; 43. 11 didāiñē ... tāṭ ʿverēziieiddīiāi, hīiṭ mōi mrōtails vahlīstōm, ‘I am learning to do what ye tell me is best’; 44. 12 yō mā draguoṭa ḍō sauoṭa ʿpāṭīharetē cīyañēṭ, ‘the wrongful one who likes to oppose thy gains’.

With an accusative as subject of the infinitive: 34. 4 ʿat tōi ʿāṛēm ... usōmāḥi ... ṭōi ṭaṇṇeṭ cibrauauanṭhōm, ‘we wish for thy fire(.) to be a manifest help to thy supporter’; 43. 1 utaiiūūi teuuiūi āgōtī vasmī, ‘I wish for strength and vitality to come’; 46. 16 tāṭ vōng usuahū ustā ṭōi, ‘those whom we two wish to be in bliss’; 49. 6 frō vā iṣiṭā ... ʿmrūiṭē, ‘I desire you to speak’; 50. 2 yō hitm ahmāi vahlauauatīm ṭōi usiīāi, ‘one who might wish her to be on his own pastureland’; YH 35. 4 gaumōi ... fraēśiiāmāhī rāmācā vāṣtramec ʿdazdīiiāi srunuuaatascā aṣrunuuaatascā, ‘for the cow we urge them that hear and them that do not hear to maintain peace and pasture’.

Similarly with ‘teach’, ‘force’: 28. 11 frō mā siṣē ... ʿvaocaiñē, ‘teach me to voice (them)’; 43. 13 kāmāhīiā ... yēm vā naēciś dārst ṭīē, ‘my desire, to which no one forces you to accede’.

With ‘think’: 31. 8 ʿat ḍōā mōijī paouruūīm, Mazdā, yazūm ṭōi mananḥā, ‘I think of thee first, Mazdā, as being young in my thought’.

The commonest use of the infinitive, as of the dative, is to express purpose: 43. 13 hiīṭ mā vohū pairī.jarṣat mananḥā, aṛōā ʿvōizdīiāi, ‘when one approaches me with good thought to take note of my endeavours’; 30. 2 ahmāi [nō] sazdīiāi baḍantaṭ pāṭī, ‘waiting to make declaration to him’; 32. 1 ḍōŏi dūtāyōhī āḥāmā, tōng ʿdāraiṇō yōi vā daibisēntī, ‘we will be thy messengers, to demolish those who hate you’; 32. 10 aśīstām ʿvaēnājē, ‘the worst thing for beholding (= to behold)’, cf. 45. 5 sruūdīiiāi hīiṭ maretēbīiūṭ vahlīstōm, ‘which
is best for mortals to hear'; 34. 5 κατ’ ἐν xσαβρα, καὶ ἵστις ὤκραίι ιδί ιαί drigūm yūsμακομ; 'what is your power, what your ability to protect your dependant?'; 44. 16 καὶ ἐν xσαβρα, ὥπια pοίν sονγχα, οἰ ἱαντί; ‘who is the victorious one, to protect with thy law (all) who exist?’; 44. 17 hίατα καὶ χιὶον ὕπων ρεν ις ἀσόν, sarοι bαζδιιανι, ‘and that my voice may be effective for working for union’; 44. 20 nοὶ ἵμι mίζον aσὰ ἐν xσαβρα frαδαιρη, ‘they do not care for her (the cow), to promote the pasture with right’; 46. 5 ταὶ frὸ xαθαυαυ xρμιιατ, υςιιιδιιοί ιμ ὧ xρμιιατ, ‘he should tell that to the clan, to help him escape from bloodshed’; 46. 11 yὐιζ ὀ aλις ὲ xσαβρα ahυμ ὥμερν ιδιιαίq μασιμ, ‘they yoke the mortal to bad deeds to ruin life’; 46. 12 τις xσαβρα, ‘he brought them into union with good thought, to proclaim it for their support’; 49. 3 ἀτcὰ ahκαὶ vαραναὶ ὧ niδατεm aςαm xδιιιαι, ἱκαζαι ὥζαι ραζαιέρε δρυξ, ‘but for this chosen path, right is laid down to strengthen (us); for that teacher, wrong to harm (him)’.

199. Often the subject to be understood for the infinitive is not the subject but the object or the indirect object of the main verb: 28. 1 yὸ ὃ ... pαἱρὶ xαζαι xυθα μαναθα, xαιβιο dαυωι ahυαυ, ‘who will approach you with good thought, (for you) to give me of both existences’; 31. 3 ταὶ nὸ, Μαζδα, xινιμινωιι ιαςα, ‘tell us that, Mazda, (for us) to know’, cf. 34. 12 xδιιθιαι; 44. 8 mονxαδιιατ; 46. 8 xιιδιιαι; 31. 9 hιατ aξιιαι dαδα xαθαμ, xαθριιατ καὶ ἵ ὃ ὧ ὡ nοὶ ἵαθ xαθριια, ‘when thou didst offer her (the cow) a path, (for her) to proceed either from the herdsman or (from him) who is not a herdsman’; 31. 20 xιιμαμαm nοὶ aπαρ xσαιιο, ‘radiance is his (for him) to possess hereafter’; 45. 10 xιιθριοι nοὶ xυθαυμαμ ιαμαθα αμαραται aμαι xιτι δας, ‘into his control they give health and life, (for them) to be his’; 49. 2 nοὶ xπονταm δορετ α χιιαι sτοι Αρμαθιιμ, ‘he has not embraced bounteous Piety (so as for her) to be his’; 50. 6 xαται xαμαθαυ, hιζωι και ibιm xιτι xαιια, ‘the giver of wisdom (for it) to be the charioteer of my tongue’; 51. 10 xαιβιο ιζαιιι Αςαm, xαιρυιιιι ις xατε, ‘for myself I will call upon Right, (for her) to come with the good reward’; 51. 17 xαμ nοὶ xιιιιμ δαμτ ... Xυρυ, Αζαιια xειιαιι γρεζιδι, ‘(the Good Religion), which let the Lord make desirable to him, (for him) to attain the favour of Right’.

In 32. 5, where the subject of the infinitive is logically the indirect object of the governing verb and might have been expected to appear in the dative, it appears in the accusative: akα xιιαιδνμ xαμαθαυ yα xαιιαιs drαγυανταιm xσαιιο, ‘by the evil speech with which he (the Evil Will) assigns the deed for the wrongful one to control’.

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

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

201. In two passages we find three infinitives in parallel: 31. 5 tāt moy vi♂cīdiāi vaocā ... vīduiīe vohū mananţhā mōncā daidīāi, ‘tell me so that I may distinguish it ... so I may know and take to heart’; 44. 14 kātā Aṣāi Drujēm diām zastaiō, nī hīm o’morāţdīāi ..., ōmāuaitim sinaṁ dāuōi derguvasū, ā īs duuāsōng ... +nāsē qstascā? ‘how might I give Wrong into the Hands of Right, to destroy her ... to deliver a crushing blow on the wrongful, to bring pains upon them and woes?’

In 43. 14, where two infinitives are juxtaposed, the second perhaps depends on the first: tauda rafonō frāxšnemon ... ąuz♂iraidīāi aģō sardanā sōngha-hītiā, ‘(give me) thy providential support, (for me) to set forth to drive off the detractors of thy law’; and so 51. 9 yam xsnūtām rānōbītā dā ... ābi ahuaţhū daxštūm dāuōi, ăraṣaiyīğhē dręguvantom, ăsauaţīo așaunam, ‘the atonement that thou didst set for the two parties, to establish proof about our mentalities, (so as) to harm the wrongful one and strengthen the righteous’.

202. In a few passages the purpose stated by means of the infinitive almost acquires the force of propriety or obligation: 44. 1 at nō Aṣā fritā o’dazdīāi hākur[nōuā, ‘we have friendly relations to maintain with Right’; 51. 20 tāt vē nō ... daidīāi sauōu, ‘this is the strengthening we have to give you’. In negative propositions it can imply impossibility: 29. 3 auuaesam nōit vīduiīe, ‘of those things there is no knowing’; 45. 4 nōit o’difizaidīāi vjspahiīas Ahurō, ‘there is no deceiving the all-observant Lord’.

203. By a somewhat similar use, the infinitive may serve to express what someone is suited for, as in 49. 9 fšōjhiō su[iē tašō, ‘the cultivator, made to be strong’; without anything corresponding to tašta-, 44. 2 kātā ayp-hōuš vahīstahīti paouruuim kādā sūidīāi? ‘how is the man of good will for reinforcing the best existence’s beginning?’

204. An exclamatory infinitive perhaps appears in the cow’s soul’s complaint at 29. 9 atcā gōuš uruua raostā, ‘yō anaesem xšanmānē rādom vācom noros asūrahītiā. If rādom is a noun meaning ‘carer’, the sense is something like ‘that I should put up with (am reduced to putting up with) an ineffective carer, the voice of a powerless man!’ In the light of the previous paragraph we might construe it as a rhetorical question: ‘(am I one) who is (appropriate) for putting

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

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

Participles and Verbal Adjectives

205. Participles in -(a)nt- and -mna- are freely used, both as nominal elements in the sentence and exercising verbal rection over ampler phrases. We also find the perfect participles viduua/vidus ‘knowing’, nāsuuā ‘lost’, apānō ‘arrived at’.

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

206. Participle, often alone, designating a category of person: 31. 3 juuautō vijspōng, ‘everyone living’; 31. 17 viduua vidušē mraotū, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing’, cf. 30. 1; 31. 12; 51. 8 (twice); 31. 19 viduua, … orēz.ukdāi vacajhqm xšaiaimnō hizuuō vasō, ‘a knowing one, one who for the true voicing of words is in free control of his tongue’; 34. 9 ḍbahiiā … vidušō, ‘of thy adept’; 33. 4 nadoŋtō, ‘detractors’; 34. 4 rapaŋtē … daibišiäntē, ‘to thy supporter … to thy hater’; 44. 9 ḍbāuuaq asšitiš …, hadamōi Ašā Vohucā siiās Manajhā, ‘a very potent follower of thine, one who abides in their home with Right and Good Thought’; 47. 4 isuuācit has paraoš, ‘even a man of much means’; 47. 6 pouruš isanō, ‘many eager comers’; 48. 9 saositiq, ‘the one eager to promote’, cf. 34. 13; 45. 11; 46. 3; 48. 12; 53. 5 vaśiimnābiiō kainibiiō … xšmaiibiićā, vadamnō, ‘for girls getting married and for you, men marrying them’; YH 35. 4 srunuataścā aṣrunuataścā xšaiiaśtascā axxiiaśtascā, ‘them that hear and them that hear not, them that have authority and them that have not authority’.

207. Participle or participial phrase in more pregnant application, emphasizing the property that is especially relevant in the context: 29. 2 hiiaat him dātā xšaiiauñtō, ‘when ye, having the power, set her there’, cf. 43. 1, 10; 51. 17; 29. 6 atō vaocac Ahurō Mazdā viduua vafuš viiānaiiā, ‘then Lord Mazdā speaks, knowing (or the one who knows) the designs in his wisdom’; 32. 15 auuāš aibi yōng daŋtī nōit jijašuš xšaiimnōng vasō, ‘those whom they implicate in them, not being in free control of their lives’; 46. 5 yē vā xšaiiuq a dam dritā atiamnō uruuoťōš v… miibiitiō vā, rasnā juuaq … vicirō has, ‘as for one who, having the power (to choose), should take into his house one coming on

72 Skjærvø 141–4.
the basis of a promise or agreements, one living in rectitude, being a man of discrimination’; 44. 19 yastaŋ mīzdom +hanantē nōit +dāītī, ‘he that does not give that reward to the one who earned it’; 45. 3 yām mōi viduā Mazdā vaocat, ‘which Mazdā in his knowledge told me’; 46. 4 aṭ tēṅg drēguā ... pāt gā frōretōiš ... duğaōbā has, ‘but the wrongful one keeps those oxen from coming forth, abominable as he is’; 46. 6 nōit nā ismōnō, ‘a man not wanted’; 48. 3 aṭ WādvmnAisVnH, ‘but for him who apprehends it, the best of teachings’; 49. 12 kāt tōi Aṣā zbaiientē auuanaḥhō Zaraḏuşturāi? ‘what hast thou of help for him who invokes thee with Right, for Zaraθuśtra?’; 51. 5 vāstirīō šīaadnāē srešnūō, has huxratuš, ‘a herdsman upright in his actions, being prudent’; 51. 18 hīaṭ rapēn tawā, ‘that of thine which gives support’; 51. 20 hazaōsāyhxō vīspāyhxō ... Aṣām ... vazeaṃnāyhxō, ‘all ye of one mind who worship Right’; YH 35. 6 aḍā hat vohū ... vērezūtōtēcā ṣahmā frācā vāōiōtētī, ‘so, it being good, let him both put it into effect for himself and communicate it’.

208. In honorific reference to a c h a r a c t e r i s t i c or e s s e n t i a l p r o p e r t y : 31. 7 tā ... raocēbīs rōīōben xābrā, ‘those amenities permeating the world of light’; 32. 2 aēibīō Mazdā Ahurō, sāremnō Vohū Manaŋhā, ... paiti.mraof, ‘to them Lord Mazdā, being united with Good Thought, answers’; 32. 9 īśūm ... bērexōm hāttīm Vanaŋhō, ‘potency, that is esteemed of Good Thought’; 33. 9 tōm mainiūm aṣā uṣātiāment,73 ‘that intent that brings increase through right’; 45. 4 Vanaŋhō varezaiantō Manaŋhō, ‘of Good Thought that stimulates to action’.

209. Marking c o i n c i d e n t a c t i v i t y : 28. 5 kāt ṉbā daresānī, manascā vohū vaedemmō ...? ‘shall I see thee, as I apprehend Good Thought?’; cf. 31. 22; 29. 5 aṭ vā uṣtānās ā huuā zastiās frēmnmā Ahurāītā, ‘but we two are here with outstretched hands propitiating the Lord’; 30. 2 sraotā gōuśās vahištā ... ahmāī [nā] sazdīāi baodantō paitī, ‘hear with your ears the best message ... as ye look ahead to the declaration to him’; 30. 6 hīaṭ iś ā deobamā peraṃmnāŋ upā jāsat, ‘because delusion comes over them as they deliberate’; 34. 6 yādā vā vazeaṃnas-cā uruvaāditīn stauuaa aiēnī paitī, ‘so that I may come unto you worshipping and praising you the more gladly’, cf. 45. 6; 50. 4, 9; 43. 10 Ārmaitī hacimnō iś ā aro, ‘in company with Piety I have set forth toward it’, cf. 43. 12; 44. 10; 43. 14 hīaṭ nā friāī vaedemmō isuua daidīt, ‘what a man of means, on finding it for himself, would offer to his friend’; 49. 12 yō vā stotaiś, Mazdā, frīnāī, Ahurā, auuat yāsas hīaṭ vā iśūm vahištēm, ‘who will propitiate you with praises, Lord Mazdā, praying for that which is the best at your disposal’; 51. 19 huuō tāt nā ... ahmāī dazdē, daēnaiō vaedemmō, vō ahūm īsasas aibī Mazdā dētā mrauuaat, ‘the man gets that (support) for himself, apprehending it with his moral self, who, in petitioning for existence, speaks Mazdā’s ordinances’; 53. 7 yauuaat āzuū ... parā[cā] mraocas aorācā, ‘one will apply his penis, dipping onward and down’.

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

210. Expressing means or cause: 32. 4 yā mašiiā əcištā *dantō əvaxšəntē dāewūō.zuštā, 'the worst things, by doing which mortals are to wax Daeva-favoured'; 32. 8 yō mašiiēng cixšnušō ahmākōng gāuš bagā xāramnō, 'who sought to gratify our mortal race by feeding them portions of the cow'; 33. 3 yō ašaunē vahištō x'aētū vā at vā verezāniiō airiamnā vā ... *vīdās vā ûbaxiaphā gauuōi, 'he who is best to the righteous one, whether with clan or village or tribe, or by tending the cow with care'; 34. 10 ahiitā Vaŋhūś Mananāhō šiiaōnā vaocat 'gerobam' huxratuš spoŋtānca Ārmaitūm, daŋtim vīduūā hīqām Ašahiitā, '(of) this Good Thought's deeds the wise man says “let them be seized hold of”, and (of) bounteous Piety, knowing her the creator (and) companion of Right'; 51. 13 yehiiā uruuā xraodaitū Cinuutō poretā ākā, x'āīs šiiaōnās hizuuascā Ašahiitā nasuutā padō, 'whose soul will torment him as it confronts him at the Arbiter's Crossing, lost through his own actions and his tongue's from the path of Right'.

Perhaps concessive in 31. 10 nōit ... auuāstriiō dauuac.cinsa humērētōiš baxštā, 'the non-herdsman, drive(?) her as he might, did not get her goodwill'.

211. In 31. 1 an initial participial phrase lays the basis for the following main clause: tā vō uruuatā marantō, aguštā vacā sēnghāmah āeibītō yōi ..., ‘minding these rules of yours, we proclaim words unheeded by those who …’. Relative clauses are sometimes found in a similar function, and in 28. 4 a relative clause and a participial phrase are used in parallel: yō uruuāmā nēn gairē vohū dādē haḍrā manayhā, aśiścā šiiaōnānām vīduū Mazdā, ... xsāi aēšē Ašahiitā, 'I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought, and knowing Mazdā's repayments of actions, will look out in search of Right'.

212. More often a participial phrase is used as a means of extending a sentence: 32. 4 (following the words quoted in §210, yā – dāewūō.zuštā), vaŋhūś sīz-diiamnā manayhō, Mazdā Ahurahitiā xratēus nasiitantō Ašāatcā, ‘retreating from good thought, losing the way from Lord Mazdā's sapience and from Right'; 33. 5 yas.tē vispē.mazištēm sraošm zhaiïtī auuajñēnē, apānō daragō.jiitētum, ‘I that will invoke my supreme compliance to thee at the journey's end, arrived at the long life’; 45. 8 tēm ... nū zī īt cašmainī v.adarasem, Vaŋhūś Mainiiūś šiiaōnāhitiā uxōāšītācā vīduū ašā, 'him I have just now discerned in my eye, knowing with right of the Good Will's deed and utterance'; 46. 18 ahmāi ascit vahištā mašiiā īstoš ... *cōišm ... , astōng ahmāi yō nā āstāi daïditā, Mazdā Ašā, xšmākām vēram *xšnāošūmmō, ‘on him for my part the best things at my disposal I confer, (but) hatred on him who would subject us to hatred, (thereby) doing justice, Mazdā and Right, to your preference’; 47. 5 hanaro ûbahmāt zaošā druguuā baxšaiti, ahiitā šiiaōnās Akiat ā šiñsa Mananāhō, ‘it is without thy favour that the wrongful one partakes thereof, by his own actions abiding on the side of Evil Thought'.
213. The verb *aog-* is construed with a participle as predicate: 32. 7 *aēšam aēnayān̄a naēĉit vidūa aojoi*, ‘of these offences I declare I know nothing’, lit. ‘knowing nothing, I so make my declaration’.

214. With reduplicated desideratives we find an adjectival form in *-a*- which is in effect a participle and behaves as one: 43. 15 *nōit nā pourūš dṛggūlatō xīīt cixvūsō*, ‘may a man not be one who seeks to gratify the many wrongful’, cf. 32. 8; 45. 8–10 *tōm nō staotāś nemanjḥō ā viuurasō ... tōm nō Vohū maṭ Manajhā cixvūsō*, ... *tōm nō yasnāś ārmatoīś mimayōz*, ‘seeking to envelop him in our reverent praises ... seeking (also) to gratify him together with Good Thought ... seeking (also) to magnify him with our pious acts of worship’.

Verbal adjectives in *-ta-*

215. These are syntactically less flexible. The verbal element may govern a case, as in 30. 1 *raocbīš darasatā urutāzā*, ‘the bliss beheld by the light’; 31. 1 *agustā vacā ... aēbitō yōi ...*, ‘words unheeded by those who ...’; 43. 10 *peresācā nā, yā tōī ēhmā parstā, parstom zī ōbā ..., ‘and ask us the questions (to) us (acc.) that thou hast; for the question by thee ...’; 49. 9 *fśāḥhiō sūiē tāstō*, ‘the cultivator made for strengthening’; ibid. *aśā vuxtā ... Dajāmāspā*, ‘the Dja-maaspas yoked with right’. Compare, with adverbial modifier, YH 39. 2 *aśāunam ... kudō-zātanm.cit*, ‘of the righteous wherever born’.

216. These forms can serve as predicates in nominal sentences, with the effect of a finite verb: 29. 8 *aēm moyi idā vistō*, ‘this man here I have found’, cf. 29. 6; 50. 1; 48. 2 *ha zī ahōūš vāyhi vistā ākārtīś*, ‘for that is the pattern of existence found to be good’; 48. 1 *yā daibītānā fraoxtā*, ‘the deceitful things that have been asserted’; 49. 3 *aṭcā ahmāī vāraṇāi ... ni.dātōm aṣōm sūdītāi*, ‘but for this chosen path, right is laid down to strengthen (us)’.

217. Neuter plurals are used in a general sense: 43. 12 *nōit asruštā pairi.aoyēzā*, ‘thou givest advice (that will) not (go) unheeded’; 46. 19 *manō.vistāš maṭ vis-pāś*, ‘with all spiritual acquisitions’; in particular, *dātā* is used substantivally of Mazdā’s ordinances, 33. 1; 46. 15; 49. 7; 51. 14, 19.

Gerundives in *-iīa-*

218. Forms occur from four verbal roots. They are used mostly as simple attributes: 27. 13 *yaḍā ahū vairītō*, ‘as (he is) the master one would choose’; 43. 13 *vairītā stōiś*, ‘a possession worth choosing’, cf. 54. 1; substantivized, 34. 14 *tā ... vairīm*, ‘that thing worth choosing, that prize’; predicatively, 51. 1 *vohū xṣaḍrəm vairīm*, ‘good command is a thing to choose’; 31. 4 *yaḍā Aṣōm zauūm*, ‘when Right is to be invoked’; 44. 8 *yācā ... arōm vaēdiīa*, ‘and those (words)
that are fitly to be apprehended’; 48. 8 kā ḍīḥōi ... ḍiśīā? ‘what desirable (reward) of thine (is there)?’; 51. 17 yāṃ hōi ḍiśīqū ḍāṭū ... Mazdā, ‘let Mazdā make it desirable to him’; 54. 1 ā Airīōmā ḍiśīō ... ḍantū ... Asāhiā vyāsā ṣāim, yāṃ ḍiśīqū Ahūrō Ṣasatā, ‘let Aryaman the longed-for one come ... I pray for Right’s reward, the longed-for one that the Lord conceives’.

Verbal Modifiers (Preverbs) 75

219. With many verbs the meaning may be modified, nuanced, or sharpened by the addition of what are often called preverbs, as they usually precede the verb (sometimes with other words intervening), though some of the disyllabic ones may also follow it (usually at the end of the verse: apā, 33. 4; aibī, 51. 19; paitī, 30. 2; 34. 6; within the verse, 29. 7 ḍāīāt ḍōāmuā). When the preverb immediately precedes the verb, the two are sometimes written as a single word, but it is doubtful to what extent real univerbation occurs; the preverb does not intervene between augment and verb, cf. 45. 8 viḍdaresem, i.e. vi adaresem, ‘I have discerned’, and in many places an enclitic intervenes between preverb and verb, as in 28. 11 fṛō mā sīsā, 33. 12 us mōi ṛāsūtuā; 33. 8; 45. 6; 46. 2; 49. 1, 6; 51. 22. 76 Univerbation, however, is seen in 46. 5 uzūiṭiīōi ḍim, where uz ḍim uūṭiīōi might have been expected. Two preverbs appear together in 46. 12 aṭ iś vohū hōm aibī moṣt manājḥā, ‘he brought them together into union with good thought’.

220. The combination of preverb and verb is often complemented by a particular case of a noun, and sometimes the preverb seems to adhere more closely to the noun than to the verb; we then describe it as a preposition or postposition. Some words serve only as prepositions and not as preverbs, and vice versa:

Either preverb or preposition: aibī ṣantā ṣuūā (ḥōāmuā) ā paitī pāirī.
Only preverb: apā fṛā hōm nī nīś upā us ṣī.
Only preposition: aipī ṣūā (ḥōānū) hacā ḍahū ṣanārā ḍuṭrā ṣat parā parā.

The prepositional uses have been analysed in the sections dealing with the accusative, instrumental, ablative, and locative cases. (The dative and genitive are not construed with prepositions.) As to the senses that particular preverbs impart to particular verbs, that falls to the province of lexicography and does not call for treatment here.

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74 Some manuscripts give vaśīdiśī (infinitive), but that would have only two syllables, and the metre calls for three.
75 Reichelt §§522–64.
76 In the transmitted text, when a preverb is separated from a following verb, it is regularly repeated immediately before the verb, to the detriment of metre: this clearly results from a systematic editing process.
Dependent Clauses

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

Relative clauses

222. Under this heading I will consider relative clauses in the restricted sense, that is, those in which the relativizer is a pronoun referring to a nominal or pronominal ‘head’, or an adverb such as ‘where’. The Old Avestan texts are dense with such clauses. Sometimes there are two or more in the same sentence, and there may be one subordinate to another, as for example in 43. 4, quoted in §7.

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

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

Restrictive (defining)

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

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

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77 Caland 17–46; Delbrück iii. 295–406; Bartholomae 1199–1228; Reichelt §§734–52; Seiler 53–206; Kellens–Pirart ii. 53–64; Hintze (1997); Skjærvø 154–60.

78 I use ‘head’ for what in traditional grammar is called the antecedent, a misleading term in that it often does not precede but follows the relative clause or is located inside it. Some use the term ‘nucleus’.

voired for these, as in 45. 3 yōī ḫm vā nōīṭ ḫvā ṁaṭṛm varašṇti, ... aēibīū ḫaṅ-
ḥuṣ āwuōī ṁaṅhaṭ apōṃm, ‘those of you who do not so act on this prescript, for
them “Woe!” will be their worldly life’s end’; 46. 18 yō maibīā ṣyaos, ahmāv
ascī ṣahīstā ṣaṃīā iṣṭīś ... cōīšem, ‘who(ever) (assigns) weal to me, to him I
for my part assign the best at my disposal’. As the examples indicate, the inde-
determinate referent may be either plural or singular.

226. If the reference is not to a specific person or thing but to any that may fit
the case, the subjunctive is used, as in 45. 3 just cited (varašṇti); 28. 8
yaēibīiascā it ṛāŋhaṃhōi, ‘and (those) on whom(ever) thou bestowest it’; 30. 5
yaēcā xsnaoṣen Ahuṃm ḫaṅbīīāś ṣīaǒmānās, ‘and those who please the Lord
with genuine actions’; 32. 15 āwuāś aibī yōng dainē, ‘those whom they impli-
cate in them’; 44. 12 kō aṣauuā, yāiś parasāī, dṛguuā vā? ‘who is righteous or
wrongful (of those) whom I question?’; 44. 19 yas.tat miṇḍom haṇoṃtē nōīṭ dāīt,
yō it ahmā īreḻ.uxōā nā dāītē, kā tōm aḥītā maṇēṅī ṣatā paουuirīē? ‘he that does
not give that reward to one who earns it, the man that takes it for himself
when it has been promised, what punishment for that will catch him initially?’;
46. 1 nōīṭ mā xsnauā, yā vēraṇānā hōcā, ‘I am not pleased with such communities
as I consort with’; 50. 3 yāṃ nārdīṣṭām gaṅḍāṃ dṛguuā bāxśāītī, ‘the neigh-
bouring creature (any cow) that the wrongful one has’; 51. 8 ḫuuo ľ māṭrā
Śitāō, yō vīduśē mrawuāītī, ‘happy that prophet who speaks to one who knows’.

For a more remote contingency the optative may be used: 46. 5 yō vā
xsaiās ā ḫam drītā aiiāntam ... 6 aṭ yas.tōm nōīṭ nā isāmno āītā, ‘as for one who
on his own authority should take into his house one coming ... But as for a
man who should come to him unwanted’.

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

227. The head to which a relative clause relates sometimes has to be un-
derstood from the context: 80) 31. 9 hitāx a|xīāī ādād paṇām, vāṣṭrītā vā ā iṭē vō
vā nōīṭ ḫaṅhaṭ vāṣṭrīō, ‘when thou didst offer her a path, to proceed either from
the herdsman or (from him) who is not a herdsman’; 31. 15 pārāsā auwaṭ, vā
maṇēṅī, yō dṛguuāītē xsaṭrām hunāītī, ‘I ask this, what is the punishment (for
him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 31. 19 gūśīd vē māṇā
aṣam, ‘let him listen (to him) who thinks on right’; 31. 21 Mazdā ḫadāt ... 
vaŋhōuṣ vāζuωuǎrō maŋhaṭō, vē hōi māinīitū ṣīaǒmānāścā uruuābō, ‘Mazdā gives
the permanence of good thought (to him) who (is) his ally in will and deeds’;
34. 14 tāt ľ ... aṣtuuaitē uṭṭānāi ḫaṭā ... vōīī ľ gōuṣ vēraṇēnā aξīāī, ‘for ye have
set this prize for corporeal life, (for those) who (are) in the community of the
milch cow’; 44. 12, quoted in §226; 45. 6 yō hudā, vōi hōntī, ‘who (is) a bene-
factor (of all) who are’, cf. 44. 16; 51. 10; 51. 8 akōī ľ dṛguuātē, uṭṭā vē Aṣam
dadrē, ‘amid ill for the wrongful one, (but) in bliss (for him) who has embraced
Right’; YH 37. 2 tōm aṭ yasnaṇām pauruuatātā yazamaidē, vōīī gōuṣ hacā śiieintaī,
Dependent Clauses

228. In several of these cases yā is in effect equivalent to ‘if anyone …’; and so it is in certain instances where the understood head has no definite grammatical status in the main clause, as in 32. 16 ḥāmān taṭ vahīšṭācī, yō uṣuruiē sīascīt dahmahīīā, ‘that is equal to the best (= there is nothing better than), if one just draws back to the safe haven(?) of the enlightened one’; 31. 13.

229. If necessary for purposes of connection, the unexpressed head is treated as being contained in the relative pronoun: 33. 1 ḍrōguataēcā hīātēcā aštēnē, vēxīēcā hēm.iīsaitē miβahīīā yācā hōi ārazuuā, ‘for the wrongful one and as regards the righteous, and (for him) whose false and straight deeds are put in the balance’; 44. 20 yāē gām Karapā Usīxēcā aeśmāi dātā, vēcā Kauwā qmēnē urūdoīiatā, ‘with whom the Karpan and the Usij subject the cow to violence and (to all that) which the Kavi makes her lament to her soul’; 53. 1 yeī hōi dāt āaiaptā … Mazdā … vēcā …, ‘if Mazdā will grant blessings to him and (to those) who …’.

Appositive (non-defining)

230. Appositive relative clauses normally follow the main clause, or in a few cases are embedded in it. There is no correlative, as that would imply that what is predicated in the relative clause is uniquely true of the head, making it part of its essential identity, as in a restrictive clause.81

231. In a few cases, however, the relative clause precedes the main clause for rhetorical purposes, to characterize the head before it plays its part in the main clause: 28. 4 yō uruuānem mōn gairē vohū dadē haṭrā maṇaṇhā, … xsēi aeśē Aṣahītā, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought … will look out in search of Right’; 28. 11 yō āīs aṣēm ni.pāyē ma-nascā vohū yauuētētē, tuuōm, Mazdā Ahūrā, frō mā sīśā, ‘thou who with their aid dost protect thy Right and Good Thought for ever, teach me, Lord Mazdā’, cf. 33. 11; 45. 7–8 yehiīā sauwā iṣāntī rākānḥō … tōm … nū zī ḫt caṣ-mainī vi.adoraṃ, ‘the Caring One whose strength all may activate … him I have just now discerned in my eye’. The demonstrative tōm in this last passage is not a correlative of the kind typical in restrictive clauses, it is just resumptive after the lengthy preamble. The same applies to the demonstrative in the main clause following the elaborate anaphoric structure in 33. 4–6, yē ᵇḥāt, Mazdā, asruṣṭim akōmcā manō yazāi apā, … yas.tē vispē.mazi.tōm sraoṣem sbaīā awuṃ-ḥānē … yō zaotā aṣā orēzuu, huuō mainiēuū ā vahiṭṣṬēt kaiī āḥmāt, ‘I that by wor-

81 So in 31. 7 tā, Mazdā, mainiītū ucsītō, yō ā nūrōmcīt … hēmō, ‘through that will, Mazdā, thou dost increase, …’, tā should not be taken as correlative to yā, which is equivalent to ‘and it is’ or ‘and thou art’ (the same even unto now).
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ship will seek to keep from Thee, Mindful One, disregard and bad thought … I that will invoke (my) all-surpassing compliance to Thee at the journey’s end … I that minister straight in accord with right: as this person, from this my best will I desire …’.

232. The head of an appended relative clause is not necessarily the most recent noun: one may have to look further back for it, as in 32. 13 yaēcā ... jīgōraṣat kāmē ṻaḥiṭṭā ṹaḍrāṇō dūṭīṃ, vē ṣiṣ pāṭ darasāt Aṣaḥiṭṭā, ‘and those who decry in their lust thy prophet’s message, (the lust) that will keep them from the sight of Right’; 32. 14 hiṭā vīśōntā ḍṛguvantō āuūō, hiṭācā gāuṣ jaidiṭṭā mṛaoī, vē ḍūrāoṣant saocaiṭāt, ‘when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one and when the cow is spoken for killing, (the wrongful one) who makes the resistant (haoma) flare up’.

233. Occasionally a relative is used to introduce an idea quite independent of what precedes, becoming in effect just a sentence-connective: 44. 10 tām daṇṇāṃ, vā haṭāṃ vahīṣṭā—vā mōi gāeṭā Aṣā frāḍōṇī ḍacōṇāṃ, ‘that religion which is the best in existence—may it promote my flock in union with Right’; 45. 2 aṭ frauwaṭśiṭā aṭhōuṣ māiniṭī paouriṭī, vaiiā spaiṭṭā uīṭī mrauṇat yēṃ angreṃ, ‘I will tell forth the two Wills at the world’s beginning; of whom the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one’; 46. 11; 51. 13, 17.

Features common to both restrictive and appositive clauses

234. The head is sometimes located within the relative clause and subjected to its syntactic regimen, being put in the same case as the relative pronoun instead of that which would express its function in the main clause.\(^{82}\) 28. 7 dāṣtiū, Māzdā, ... vē vā maṛāṃ srauṭūmā ṛāḍā, ‘give thou, Māzdā, the prescript through which we might hear your favours’; 30. 3 aṭ tā mainiṇī, paouruṇī vē vāṃ x‘aṇeṇā asruuṭāṃ, ‘they are the two Wills, the twins who in the beginning made themselves heard through dreaming’; 31. 3 hiṣu uruvaṭom cāḍoṇḥuvaḍobhīḍi, ‘the rule that is for the prudent’; 31. 13 vē fraśā auuiśiṭā, vē vā ... pērāṣāṭē taiṭā, ‘the questioning that is overt, or the secrets that the two debate’; 32. 3 aṭ yūṣ daṇṇāvā vīspaṇāḥ Akāt Mananāḥ stā cībrēṃ vascā vā maḥ yazaitē, ‘but ye Daevas are all spawn from Evil Thought, and (so is) the grandee who worships you’; 32. 11 taecūti mā mōrāṇaṇa jīiōtūm, vōi drguvantō ... cikōṭiṭaś ... apaieiti, ‘those are the ones who pervert life, the wrongful who have distinguished themselves by depriving’, cf. 44. 12; 32. 12 vē ṛaṅhaṭiḥ srauvaṭḥā vahīṣṭā śiiaṭṭā maretāṇo, aeṭbīṭi Māzdā akā mraqoṭ, ‘because of the “deed of repute” by which they divert mortals from best action, Māzdā answers them with ill’; 33. 1 aś ... vē dāṭā ṛaṭhōuṣ paouruṭiḥiṭā, ‘by the ordinances of the first existence’; 33. 13 dōiśī mōi vē vā bīfrā, ‘show me the virtues(?) that you have’; 34. 1 vē śiiaṭṭānā, vē vaṭānā vāsānā aṃmaretāṭoṃ ...
taibiō ḏaḥā, ... æشعٔ m toī ... dastē, 'the deed through which, the word through which, the worship through which thou takest continuing life for thyself, of these is offering made thee'; 34. 13 tōm aduānām ... daēnā sao-
ściatām yā hūkērētā Ašācīt uruuāxāt hiiãt caauwstā hūdābiō mīzām, 'that road, the well-paved one on which the Promoters’ moral selves advance from Right itself to the reward that ye have assigned to well-doers'; 43. 2 yā dā Ašā vaŋh-
ōūš māiā managhō, 'the transforming powers of good thought that thou didst establish with Right', cf. 43. 4; 43. 6 ṣahmū ... uruuāxē jasō, 'at that bend where thou comest'; 43. 10 pōrasācā nā, yā toī ēhmā pārštā, 'and ask us the questions thou hast of us'; 44. 8 maŋ.dādīiā yā toī, Mazda, 箧īštā, 'to take to heart the instruction that is thine, Mazda'; 45. 10 tēm ... mimayzō, yā ṣamnāni 
Mazdā srāwī Ahurō, 'seeking to magnify him, Mazda the Lord who is heard in
my soul'; 46. 1, quoted in §226; 48. 3 viduūa vaecīt guzrā sāŋghānā, 'knowing even the laws that are hidden'; 49. 6 muvitē yā vē xratōūs xemākhiīā ā managhā, 'to speak with the sapient thought that is yours'; 50. 3, quoted in §226; 50. 10 yā varasā vācā paarī āis šiaōdānā, 'what deeds I do and what (I have done) be-
fore'; 51. 9 vām xūnūm rānōibīiā dā, 'the atonement that thou didst establish
for the two parties'; 51. 16 tām ... nāsāt ... vām cistīm āsā manṭā, 'he attained
that insight which he meditated with right'; 53. 6 drūjo hacā rādōmō vēm spa-
sūba frādim, 'the prosperity that ye see of the man attached to wrong'; YH 38. 1 vāscā toī goṇā, 'and the Dames that are thine'.

235. In three places the head is repeated from the main clause in the relative clause: 32. 12–13 yēiš gṛōhmā āsā verētā Karpā xṣaōrmcā īṣanām drujēm, yā xṣādrā gṛōhmō ..., 'with whom the Karpan chooses gluttony(?) over right, and the dominion of those who desire wrong; by which dominion the glutton(?) ...'; 50. 5–6 hiiãt yuśmākāi maṭrūnē vaorizahā ... vē maṭrā vācēm,
Mazdā, bārātū, 'that ye will look gladly upon your prophet ... which prophet is bringing forth his voice, Mazda'; 51. 14 gauūoī āroīš ā sāndā xāīš šiaōdānāścā sāŋghāścā; yē iš sāṃghō apōmēn Drūjō domānē ādāt, 'manifesters of harm to the cow by their actions and teachings; which teaching will consign them at the last to the house of Wrong'.

236. The relative pronoun usually occupies the initial position in the clause. In some instances it is postponed to follow another word or phrase, but it always precedes the verb if there is one: 28. 1 Vāŋhōūs xratīm Mānaṇhō yā xēnvāwīsā gēwscā uruuānām, 'by which Thou wouldst do justice to Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul'; 30. 3, quoted in §234; 32. 5 akā šiaōdēm vacaŋhā vē fracinās droguunām xșaitō, 'by the evil speech with which he assigns the deed for the wrongful one to control' (here the clause boundaries overlap); 32. 15 auuās aibī yēng ūaṅtī, 'those whom they implicate in them'; 34. 10 tācā vīspā, Ahurā, ḏb₇ahmī ... xṣābrōī <v>ā viiābrā, ‘and all
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those excellences(?), Lord, that are in thy domain’; 34. 13, quoted in §234; 
45. 5 vacō, srūddiidiā hiiau maretāśiidiō vahište, ‘the word that is best for mortals 
to hear’; 46. 10 ajhēuṣ yā tū vöištā vahištā, ‘what thou knowest (to be) the best 
things in life’.

The relative pronoun as quasi-article

237. In §8 it was noted that many relative clauses are verbless, the copula being 
understood, and examples were quoted. Sometimes a phrase consisting of 
relative pronoun + (predicative) noun seems to mean no more than the noun 
would by itself, as in 30. 5 aiia mainiua voretā yō draguua aciśtā voreziio, ‘of 
these two Wills the one that is wrongful chooses to do the worst things’, 
where yō draguuo means no more than draguuo; 32. 15 yā Karpōtāscā 
Kouitāscā, ‘the Karpanhood and the Kavihood’; 33. 1 miśhiitā yācā hoi 
ārzuua, ‘his false and straight deeds’; 43. 5 hiiau dā šitāoudnā miždauuān yacā 
uxdā, ‘when thou madest actions and speech wageable’; 46. 1 daxiīeuṣ yōi 
sāstārō droughantu, ‘the wrongful governors of the regions’; 46. 3 yōi uxšāno asnqām, 
‘the Oxen of Days’.

238. In this usage the relative pronoun has in effect become something like a 
definite article. The denaturing is still more apparent when the phrase is 
transposed into the accusative: 28. 8 dāā ... yōm Ašā vahištā ha-
zaosm, ‘thee, the one of one mind with best Right’, as in Greek one might 
say σε τὸν Δίκηι όμόφρονα; 28. 9 anāiś vā nōit ... Aśemcā yānāiś zaranaēmā 
Manascā hiiau vahište, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you and Right 
and the Best Thought’; 32. 5 vā ... yōng daēuunō, ‘you the Daevas’; 45. 2 
spaniitiū uūttā mrāuat vōm angrm, ‘the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the 
Hostile one’; 45. 8 tōm ... vī.adarasem ..., yōm Mazdām Ahurem, ‘him I have 
discerned, Mazdā the Lord’; 46. 4 tōng ... yōng aśahiitā važdrōng, ‘those bringers 
of right’; 46. 8 yō vā mōi vā gaētā dazē dēnaēhē, ‘or he who is subjecting my 
flock to maltreatment’. In YH we find an example with the instrumental: 35. 4 
tāiś šitāoudnāiś vāiś vahištāš, ‘with these actions, the best ones’ (ταῖς πράξεστι 
ταῖς ἄρισταις).

239. By a further extension the accusative pronoun may govern a defining 
phrase in a different case: 31. 6 yā mōi viduua vaocat haiūim, mādrēma viim haur-
uiatāūi, ‘who, knowing it, speaks my truth, the prescript that is of health’ 
(ἔπτοιδὴν τὴν ύγιειὰς); 49. 8 Aśahiitā dā sarūm ... yām vahāhū ṯbahmī ā xābrōi, 
‘grant union with Right, the one in thy good domain’ (ἐνωσίν τὴν ἐν τῇ σῆι 
ἁρχῆι).
Dependent Clauses

The attraction of the pronoun into the accusative is not invariable, cf. 53. 5 ahūm yā (not yim) vaṭhūṣ manaṅhō, ‘the life (that is) of good thought’.

Temporal clauses

240. Temporal clauses are mostly introduced by hiiat, the neuter of the relative pronoun. This serves as something of a general-purpose conjunction, and one has to decide according to the sense between ‘when’, ‘seeing that’, ‘because’, ‘in order that’, ‘the fact that’. In 51. 12, for example, nōiṭ tā im xšnāuš vaēpiō Kouuīnō perētā zimō … hiiat ahmī urūraost aštō, hiiat hōī ī caratascā aodēroścā zōiśnū vāzā, we would naturally translate ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him at the crossing in the winter, when the emissary had barred his way at it, when his two draught animals were trembling from the journey and the cold’, except that the correlative tā in the main clause strictly requires the rendering ‘thereby, that the emissary …’. The second hiiat clause is more unequivocally temporal.

hiiat … paouruūm means ‘when first’, ‘as soon as’; parā hiiat means ‘before’.

Other conjunctions introducing temporal clauses are yadā ‘when’ (specifically temporal); yauaṭ ‘as long as’, ‘as far as’; yāṭ ‘since (the time when)’.

241. In the Gāthās the conjunction is regularly initial in the clause. In YH we (perhaps) find it postponed to second position in 38. 4 yā vō, Vaṭhīš, Ahūrō Mazdā nāmām dadā, vaṇhudā hiiat vā dadā, ‘with the names that Lord Mazdā gave you, Good Ones, when the maker of good was making you’.

242. The temporal clause most often follows the main clause, but not infrequently precedes it, as in 30. 4 atcā hiiat tā hōm mainiiū jasaētōm paouruūm, dazdē gaēmēcā ajiīătīmēcā, ‘once those two Wills join battle, one adopts life or non-life’; 30. 8, 11; 31. 4; 43. 12 hiiatcā mōi mraoś ‘Ašēm jasō’ frāśnānē, at tū mōi nōiṭ asruştā pairī.aoγżā, ‘and when in thy providence thou tellest me, “Go to Right”, thou givest me advice that will not go unheeded’; 46. 12, 15; 50. 9. In YH 36. 6 the main and temporal clauses are interlaced: bareziştam barezīmanqam (āuuaēdaiamahī) auaṭ yāṭ huara auaucī, ‘highest of the high we proclaim that sun since it was named’.

In 31. 11 three successive hiiat clauses in asyndeton precede the main clause: hiiat nā, Mazdā, paouruūm gaēbāscā taśō daēnāscā …, hiiat astuuantōm dādā uştanem, hiiat ſiiaotēncā sōnghascā yaōrā …, ‘since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves, since thou gavest corporeal vitality, since (thou gavest) the actions and pronouncements in which …’. For two successive ones following the main clause cf. 51. 12 quoted in §240; for two connected by -cā, 32. 14 quoted in §244.

85 Reichelt §§755, 782, 787; Skjæervo 160 f.
243. When the reference is to the past, the verb is in a past tense of the indicative or injunctive: 29. 2 kaštā toi gauoī raatušt, hiiat him dātā xšaiaantiō, ‘how (was) thy ruling for the cow, when ye powers made her?’; 31. 9 hiiat axtiāi dādā paqam, ‘when thou didst offer her a path’; 43. 5 anajōušt zqdoī ..., hiiat dā šitaoviā niaždauoń, ‘at the genesis of the world, when thou madest actions wageable’; 46. 12 hiiat us aštā napticēasti nafsucā Tūrahiāi Īn Friyāna, ‘when he came forth with right among the kin and descendants of Tūra Friyā’; YH 38. 4, quoted in §241.

244. When the reference is to something that happens from time to time, or at an unspecified time, the verb is in the °present or +aorist injunctive: 29. 5 axt vā ustāniās ā hnuā zastāni frinomnā Ahurāiā ... hiiat Mazדām °duuaidī frasābiō, ‘but we two are here with outstretched hands propitiating the Lord, as we subject Mazdā to our questions’; 30. 4 and 31. 11 quoted above, §242 (both present injunctive); 31. 8 at ṣṣā mōjhi ... yazūm stōi manajhā ... hiiat ṣṣā hım cašmaini °grabam, ‘I think of thee as being young in my thought, when I catch thee in my eye’, cf. 43. 5; 32. 14 ahiā grēhmō āhōibōi nī Kāuwaiascē xratūšt dadaṭ ... hiiat °visintā draguantam auuō, hiiatācā gāuš jaitiāi °mraoi, ‘into its bonds the glutton(?), the very Kavis surrender their reason, when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one, and when the cow is spoken for killing’; 43. 7 spoṇtam axt ṣṣā ... mōjhi ... hiiat mā vohū °pairījasat manajhā °perasacā mā, ‘bounteous I think thee, when one approaches me with good thought and asks me’; 45. 10 hiiat hōi aštā vohucā °coišt manajhā, xšaibōī hōi haurooūtā amoretāā ahmāi stōi dān, ‘when he with Right and Good Thought assigns (them) to him, into his control they give health and continuing life to be his’; 46. 7 kēm.nā ... mauaîte pāiūm dadaṭ, hiiat mā draguūa °didirēsata aēnajhē, ‘whom dost thou set as protector for my kind, when the wrongful one seeks to take hold of me for maltreatment?’

245. When the reference is to a specific, unique activity occurring at the present time, we find the present indicative, even if the main clause refers to the past or future: 32. 3–4 šitaomān ... yāiś asrūdūm būmiāa haptaiōdē, yāt yūś tā framīmaštā, yāt ..., ‘your deeds for which ye have become renowned in earth’s seventh part, ever since you have been enjoining those things that ...’; 43. 8 hiiat ā būstīś vasass.xšaibrahiāī diāi, yauuat ā ṣṣā, Mazdā, staomi uftiācā, ‘so I may obtain the offices of him who rules at will for as long as I am praising and hymning thee, Mazdā’.

246. When the reference is to the future, the subjunctive is used: 28. 4 yauuat °isāt °taaŭcā, aunuat xšāi aesē Ašahīā, ‘so long as I have the ability and strength, I will look out in search of Right’, cf. 50. 11; 30. 8 yadā kaēnā °jamaitiā aēnajhām, ‘when the requital comes for their misdeeds’, cf. 31. 4; 30. 9 atcā toi vaēm xiimāy yoi tīm frašēm korenām ahūm, ... hiiat habrā manā °buuat yaibra cistiś anajhat maēbā, ‘may we be the ones who will make this world splendid, as our minds come together where insight is intermittent’; 43. 4 at ṣṣā
māṅghāi taxmēmcā spēntam … hīaṭ mōi vaŋhāuḥ hazō +jimāt manajhō, ‘I will think thee bold and bounteous when the force of good thought comes to me’; 43. 12 uz.iraḍiiai, paṛā hīaṭ mōi a +jimāt Sraosō, ‘to start out before Compliance comes to me’, cf. 48. 2; 44. 15 yezi ahiia Aṣā, poī maṭ, xṣaiehī, hīaṭ hōm spāḍā anaocaghā jamaētē, ‘if thou hast this power with Right to protect me when the hostile armies meet’; 46. 15 hīaṭ dāṅgōṃ vi +cāiaṭā adāḍaṣcā, tāiś yuś śiiaōdnaīs aṣām xṣmaibīiīā daduiiē, ‘when ye distinguish between the just and the unjust, by those actions ye shall win yourselves Right’; 50. 9 yadā aṣōiś maxīiā vasō +xṣaiiā, aṭhudānaoś iṣaiiās gerezā ĥiīoṃ, ‘when I have my reward at my disposal, then may I be enabled in my benefactor’s favour’.—In 30. 11 hīaṭ tā uruuiatā saṣaṇā … aṭ aipī tāiś anhāitī uṣṭā, ‘when ye grasp those rules, then thereafter it will be as we desire’, it seems necessary to emend the present indicative saKaqā to the subjunctive saKAqā.

One passage is anomalous: 46. 11 yōng xā uruuiā x‘aēcā +xraodaṭ daēnā, hīaṭ +aibi.gemen, yadrā Cinuutāt pōretus, ‘(the Karpans and Kavis,) whom their own soul and their own morality will torment when they come to where the Arbiter’s Crossing is’. The subjunctive in the main clause suggests a prediction for the future, but the aorist injunctive in the temporal clause implies a timeless generalization as in §244. Probably xraodaṭ is to be taken as a ‘relative future’ of the type identified in §181: ‘whenever such people reach the Arbiter’s Crossing, it ensues that / is to be anticipated that their soul torments them’, or perhaps ‘their soul is ready to torment them whenever they reach …’.

Causal clauses

247. The following clauses introduced by hīaṭ may be classed as causal: 30. 6 aṭīā noīṭ araś viśiīāta daēwācīnā, hīaṭ iṣ ā dabaomā pōrasmīng upājaṣaṭ (pres. inj.), hīaṭ vērenātā (pres. inj.) aṭiṣṭom manō, ‘between those two not even the Daevas discriminate rightly, because delusion comes over them as they deliberate, hīaṭ (because? so that? when?) they choose the worst thought’; 43. 11 hīaṭ xīmā uxaīiās didaijīhē paouruūim, ‘because I am learning by your utterances first of all’; 44. 18 hīaṭ mōi mazdā api.uuaitī, ‘seeing that (or now that) mindfulness has been instilled in me’; 87 46. 2 vaēdā taṭ, yā ahmī … anaešō: mā kamnāsnuuā, hīaṭcā kamnāna ahmī, ‘I know why I am ineffectual: through my poverty in cattle and because I am poor in men’; 47. 3 yē ahmīī gaṃ … hēm.tasṭaṭ … hīaṭ hōm Vohū … fraštā Manajhā, ‘which fashioned the cow for him, because he took counsel with Good Thought’; 49. 9 sraotiś sāsnā fśaijīiū … hīaṭ daēnā vahištē yūjōṇ (aor. inj.) mīzdē … Dījāmāspā, ‘let the cultivator hear the teachings, since (or now that) the Djamaspas have yoked their moral selves for the best reward’.

86 Reichelt §§756; Skjærvø 163.
87 On the interpretation of this sentence see §178.
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Comparative clauses

248. Comparisons are most clearly expressed with yādā ‘as, just as’, with or without correlative aṭā or iḥā: 27. 13, 29. 4, 33. 1, all quoted in §133; 44. 18 kādā aṣā tāṭ mīḍṭom hanānī … haurūtātā amūrētātā, yādā hī taibīīō dāḥā? ‘how am I rightfully to earn that reward … with health and continuing life, even as thou hast taken these for thyself?’

For 34. 5 yādā vā ḥahmī and for yāḥaṇā see §135.

249. Certain clauses introduced by hīiāṭ seem to be comparative in nature: 32. 5 tā dobenatoṭa maṣīm hujīāṭōiś … hīiāṭ vā akā manahṭā yōng daēuṇēng Akascā Mairīius, ‘so ye lure the mortal from good living, as (or because?) the Evil Will also (lures) you who are Daevas by evil thought’; 34. 8 tāiś zī nā śīiāṭnāīś bīiāntī, yaēśū as pairī pourūtiiō ῑḏiiejo, hīiāṭ aṣ.āoja nāiīiāṭhōm, ‘for they intimidate us by those actions in which there was danger to many, as a strong man does a weaker one’; 43. 8 haiṭṭiiō duuēšā, hīiāṭ isōītī, dreguaitē … ῑtīm, ‘may I be in reality, as (or what) I would wish, the bane of the wrongful one’; 46. 2 rafvōrm caguūā hīiāṭ friiō friiāī daidī, ‘affording support as (or which) a friend would offer to a friend’; 46. 6 hūūo aṣauūā, yahmāi aṣauuō friiō, hīiāṭ daēnā paouruuiiā dā, Ahūrā, ‘he is righteous who has a righteous one as his friend, as thou didst establish the original moralities, Lord’.

Final and consecutive clauses

250. Final clauses and those expressing an intended consequence always follow the main clause. They are introduced either by a relative pronoun referring to an agent or instrument identified in the main clause, or by hīiāṭ or yādā. The verb goes in the subjunctive or optative. Where the verb of the main clause is a wish in the optative, that of the dependent clause is also optative. In other cases we may say that the subjunctive implies that the end is likely to be achieved, while the optative implies that it will become possible.

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

251. Relative pronoun + subjunctive: 28. 6 dā … Zaraṛuṣṭrai aojōnghuuṇat rafēnō …, vā daibisuuuat duuaēšā tauruuiimā, ‘give Zarathushtra strong support, by which we may overcome the foe’s hostilities’; 28. 11 frō mā siśā … vaocanēḥ …, vaiś ā ṣahuṣ paourūtiiō baωuat, ‘teach me to voice (those words) through which the pristine existence may come about’; 29. 10 aogō dātā aṣā xṣaβromcā auωuat …, vā huśairīś rāmāmcā dāi, ‘give strength with right and that dominion, by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace’; 30. 1 at tā vaxsiiā … vā mazdābā hīiāṭcī viωuđē, ‘now I will tell those things that you are to

88 Reichelt §§760–3; Skjærvø 163 f.
89 Reichelt §§746, 757–8, 765–6, 787; Skjærvø 162 f.
bring to the attention even of one who knows'; 31. 2 yaḏa ratūm Ahūrō vaēḏā Mazdā aśiā qašiā, vā ašāt hacā jyūyāmāhī, ‘how Lord Mazdā has made the judgment concerning those two portions, (the judgment) by which we may live in accord with Right’; 50. 4 xšaṭrācā, vā iṣāh stānḥat a pāvī, ‘and with that dominion by which one may stand on the path of enablement’; 53. 4.

Relative pronoun + optative: 28. 1 ahiīa yāsā ... rafvDrahiiA ... KiiaoqnA, ‘I pray for his help by means of an action through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought’s purpose’; 29. 2 kēm hoi uštā ahūrem, vē dreguūōdēbiš aēšem vādāiōt? ‘whom did ye want as her lord, that might repulse fury by the wrongful?’; 31. 3 tāt nā ... vaocā ..., vā juuāntō wispēng vāurāiā, ‘tell us that, whereby I might persuade everyone alive’; 31. 4 īsās ... xšaṭrem ajoṅhūuat, yēhīia vēredā vanaēmā Drujōm, ‘I shall seek a strong authority, by whose increase we might vanquish Wrong’; 46. 8 paitiiaogtē tā ahmāi jāsōt duuaēsāŋhā tanuōm ā, vā im hujīiāōiš pāiiāt, ‘may those (actions of his) recoil on him with hostility, on his person, so that they may keep him from good living’.

252. hiiat + optative: 43. 8 at ašāmēn rafnō xiīōm ajoṅhūuat, hiiat ā būōtiš va-sas.xšaṭrāhiiā dīiā, ‘and to the righteous one may I be a strong support, so that I may obtain the offices of him who rules at will’; 43. 10 pērasācā nā, yā tōi Ḫmāı̂ paṟstā ... hiiat ūbbā xšaiīās aēšem dīiā ōmuuāntom, ‘and ask us what thou hast to ask of us, so that one might, having control, make thee potent (and) strong’.

253. yaḏa + subjunctive: 34. 6 yezi aḏā stā haiūīm, ... at tāt mōī daḵtēm dātā ..., yaḏa vā yazēnumcā uruāḍiddīā stauaas aiieni paitī, ‘if ye are truly thus, then prove that to me, so that I may approach you worshipping and praising you the more gladly’; 44. 1 at nō Ašā frīiā daḏiīā hākūrēnā, yaḏa nō ā Vohū jimat Manajhā, ‘we have friendly relations to maintain with Right, so that it will come to us with Good Thought’; 46. 16–17 aḏrā tū arodrāśi idī ... yaḏrā Ašā hacaiē Armaīīā ... , yaḏa vā aʃmāni sāŋhānī, ‘go with the zealous to where Piety is together with Right, so that I may proclaim verses for you’.

Conditional clauses 90

254. Conditional clauses are normally introduced by yezi ‘if’. In the attested examples the if-clause relates either to the present, with the verb (if any) in the present indicative, or to the future, with the verb in the subjunctive. There is no instance of a counterfactual conditional.91

With indicative: 34. 6 yezi aḏā stā haiūīm, ‘if ye are truly thus’; 44. 15 yezi ahiīa ašā pōī maṭ xšaiēhī, ‘if thou hast this power with Right to protect me’.

90 Reichelt §§785; Skjærvø 164–6.
91 For this the optative would no doubt have been used, as in Yt. 8. 52–4, 10. 55; Reichelt §792; Skjærvø 166.
II. Morphosyntax

48. 9 kaṭ a vaēdā, yezī cahiā xšāiaθā ... yehīā mā āiθī duuaēdā? ‘shall I know it, if ye have control over anything whose danger is a threat?’

Without a verb: see §8.

With subjunctive: 48. 1 yezī at āiś Ašā Drujam vāŋghātī ... at tōi sauūiś vahmom vaxṣat, Ahūrā, ‘now if thereby Right will vanquish Wrong, then one will increase thy praise together with thy strength, Lord’; 53. 1 vaḥītā iṣṭīṣ srāuū Zaraḏuṣṭrahē ..., yezī hōi dāt āiaptā ... Mazdā yauōōi vispāiā, ‘best in renown is the capability of Zarathushtra, if (it is true that) Mazdā will grant him blessings for ever’.

255. A conditional relationship can also be expressed paratactically.\(^{92}\) In two passages it is signalled by a peculiar use of the particle -cā, attached to the initial word of the first sentence.\(^{93}\) 30. 7 ahmaıcā xšaḇrā jasat (pres. inj.) manay-hā vohū ašācū, at kohpōm utaiteitīs dadāt (pres. inj.), ārmaiteitīs qımā, ‘suppose one comes with dominion for him, with good thought and right, then vitality informs the body, piety the soul’; 32. 1 (beginning of poem) aṭiiaċā xəeṭuś yasat (pres. inj.), aṭiia vεrεzŏnm məıt airi ⟨l⟩amnā, aṭiia daεuū ahmı mənōī, Ahurahiιā uruuaζmā Mazdā: ‘ḥoiō dūaṭhō ḥaṭhāmā, tōng daraṭiō yōi vā daibīṣōnī’: aṣibīo Mazdā Ahurō ... paṭaː mrao (pres. inj.), ‘suppose for his the clan prays, for his the village with the tribe, for his the Daevas, in my fancy, for the Lord Mazdā’s gladdening, (saying) “we will be thy messengers, to rend apart those who hate you”, to them Mazdā the Lord answers’.

In 53. 7 we find a similar structure without the -cā: vī.zaiaθā (aor. subj.) magım tōm, at vō ‘vaiṭōi’ aṭhāṭi apǒm vim, ‘(if) you will abandon this ceremony, then “Woe!” will be your last word’.

Object clauses\(^{94}\)

256. It is sometimes convenient to give a whole clause the syntactic function of a noun, so that it can serve as subject or object of a verb in the main clause. This is achieved by heading it with hīaṭ ‘(the fact) that’: 44. 17 kaṭa zaram cārami hacā xšmaτ, āskoītım xšmākım, hīaṭcā mōi xīīt vāς xēso? ‘how am I to journey in accord with you towards the object of my yearning(?) (namely) attachment to you, and (the goal) that my voice may be effective?’; 50. 5 ārōi zī xšmā ... hīaṭ yūxšmākım maḍrānē vaoroaθā, ‘for it is settled by you that ye will

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\(^{92}\) Cf. Delbrück iii. 420 f.; É. Pirart in Crespo–García Ramón 506–24.

\(^{93}\) The construction is known in Vedic, and traces of a similar function of reflexes of *-k’e have been found also in Hittite, Latin, and Gothic, but it has not hitherto been recognized in Iranian. Cf. Brugmann (1902) §913; Hirt vii. 140–2; Wackernagel (1955–79), i. 257–61; H. Eichner, MSS 29 (1971), 27–46; Watkins (1995–2008), 300–6; O. Szemerényi, Scripta Minora i (Innsbruck 1987), 384–6; H. Hetrich, Untersuchungen zur Hypotaxe im Vedishen (Berlin–New York 1988), 250–60; id. in O. Panagl–T. Krisch (edd.), Latein und Indogermanisch (Innsbruck 1992), 279–82.

\(^{94}\) Reichelt §759; Skjærvø 153 f.; cf. Delbrück iii. 324–7.
look gladly on your prophet'; after a verb of speaking, 51. 8 at zī tōī vax-
shīn ... hišt akōī ā drogwaite, uštā yō Ašm dadrē, ... yām xšnūtem rānōibiā dā,
‘for I will tell thee (this truth,) that amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss
for him who has embraced Right, is the atonement that thou didst establish for
the two parties’; with correlative demonstrative, YH 35. 3 tāt at varemaidī
... hišt ī mainimadīc vaočōimācā varezimācā, yā ..., ‘we have chosen this, that
we might think and speak and do those things that …’.

Indirect statements and questions

257. In 51. 8, quoted in §256, we have seen one way of treating indirect
speech of the type ‘say that such-and-such is the case’. Simpler propositions, of
the type ‘say that A is B’ or ‘A is said to be B’, are accommodated within the
main clause by means of a nominative or accusative predicate; see §§48 and 55.
A noun in another case may also appear as predicate after a verb of speaking, as
in 43. 13 vairīā ēstōīs, yā ḍēahmī xšādōī vācī, ‘a desirable possession that is said
to be in thy realm’.

258. Indirect questions are introduced by pronouns or conjunctions
from the relative ya-stem, not the interrogative ka-. Thus to the direct ques-
tion in 44. 19 tāt ḍēā perasā ..., yas.tat ..., kā tām ahīā maēniā ḍsāt? ‘I ask this:
he who ..., what punishment for that will catch him?’, there corresponds the
indirect one in 31. 15 perasā auuat, yā maēniā, yō ..., ‘I ask that, what the pun-
ishment is (for him) who …’, as if it were ‘I ask about the punishment which
there is’.

Further examples: 51. 22 yehīā mōī ... vahištem yesnē paīti, vaēdā, ‘I know
in whose worship is my best (interest)’; with yā or yaśa ‘how’, 34. 12 srūūīā,
Mazdā, frāauacā, yā vī.dāiīāt āśīs rāsṇām, ‘proclaim for our hearing, Mazdā,
how one might distribute the rewards of (thy) rulings’; 44. 1 tāt ḍēā perasā ...
nomahō ā, yaśa nomō xšmāuatuō, ‘I ask this out of reverence, how is the (prop-
er) reverence of your kind’; 46. 9 yō mā aredrō cōiūt paouruīō, yaśa ḍēā
zouuištīm uz.ēmōhī, ‘the zealous one who will be first to recognize how I
found(?) thee out as the promptest’; 48. 9 vūdīit saoiisiās, yaśa hōi āśīs āḥaṭ,
‘may the Promoter know how his reward is to be’; 51. 5 vīspā tā perasā, yaśa
āśāt hācā gām vīdaṭ vāstriīō, ‘all this I ask: how the herdsman gets a cow in ac-
cord with Right’.—In 31. 16 an indirect question beginning with yaśa is mod-
ified into one with two different forms: perasā auuat, yaśa hūō yō ḍudānuūs ...
yada hūō āṇhaṭ yā.sīitaōbnascā, ‘I ask that, how the liberal man who … when
he will be there, and how-actioned’.

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

95 Reichelt §789.
II. Morphosyntax

Recapitulation: Uses of the Moods

259. Various uses of the moods, both in main and in subordinate clauses, have been illustrated in preceding sections. They may now be brought together under their own rubric. The injunctive is here considered together with the indicative; it is not really a mood in the same way as are the indicative, subjunctive, optative, and imperative, but a convenient grammatical classification for those verb forms from present or aorist stems that lack the distinctive markers of a mood.

Indicative and injunctive

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

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

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

Actually the case: 29. 9 yēm ā vasamī īsāxšaōrmī, ‘whom I wish enabled with authority’; 31. 14 tā ḍaśa pārasā, Ahurā, yā zī ā aētī jōnghaticā, ‘I ask thee, Lord, about the things that are approaching and will come’; 31. 15 yē draguātē xšābrem hunātī ... yā nōi jījūtūm hanaro vīnasū vāstriēhīā aēnāhō, ‘who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one ... who does not find a livelihood without wronging the herdsmen’; 32. 1 tēng ... yōi vē daibiśantī, ‘those who hate you’; 32. 3 yascā vā maš vzaītē, ‘and the grandee who worships you’; 32. 6 aēnā ... yās vrauahīiē, ‘the offences by which he seeks renown’; 33. 7, 9; 43. 14; 44. 11, 12, 13; 46. 8.

General/permanent truths: 28. 11 yā aīš Āsēm ni pāhē, ‘thou who through them guardest Right’; 29. 3 yā šuwaite ādṛēṅg ṛṛōsūañhō, ‘he by whom the upright promote the weak’; 30. 5 mainīuš spōništō, yē xraoždīštēng aśōnō vāstē, ‘the Bounteous Will, who clothes himself in the hardest stones’; 31. 11 yābṛā varonōṅg vasā dāiite, ‘where the free agent makes his choices’; 33. 5 paṭō, yaētū Mazdā Ahurō šaētū, ‘the paths on which Lord Mazdā dwells’, cf. 43. 3; 43. 6 Vohū Manañhā, yehīīā šīiaobnīaš gaēbā aṣā frādāntenē, ‘with Good Thought, by whose actions the flock prospers with right’.

262. In referring to recurrent phenomena or habitual actions the present indicative is sometimes used, but more often the present or aorist injunctive (§163). Likewise in temporal clauses (§244).

Recapitulation: Uses of the Moods

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

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

264. For the imperfect indicative see §177.
For the perfect indicative see §§154–6, 164, 180.

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

Subjunctive

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

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

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

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

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

Optative

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

97 Formally present injunctive, as there is no clear instance of an augmented form (though see p. 63 n. 64).
98 Reichelt §§644–50; Kellens–Pirart ii. 80–8; Eva Tichy, Der Konjunktiv und seine Nachbarkategorien (Bremen 2006); Skjærvø 135 f.
99 Reichelt §§651–5; Kellens–Pirart ii. 88–92; Skjærvø 136 f.
In restrictive relative clauses it is used for the specification of a hypothetical contingency (§226); in final clauses, to express a desired end that may become achievable if a certain wish is granted (§§250–2). Examples in object clauses are to be understood similarly (44. 17 and YH 35. 3, quoted in §256).

### Imperative

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

### Quotation of Direct Speech

#### 270. Zarathushtra sometimes attributes utterances to others. As they are conceived as being syntactically complete in themselves, strategies are needed to incorporate them within his syntax while allowing their other-voice status to be apparent. The most straightforward method is to introduce them with a verb of speaking or asking, as in 29. 1 gōuš uruuā ḡereždā: ‘kəhmāi mā ḍharōž-dūm?’ ‘the cow’s soul complains, “For whom did ye shape me?”’; 29. 2 ḏā tāsā gōuš parasat Ašāṃ: ‘kaḏā tōi gauuoi ratus?’ ‘then the Maker of the Cow asks Right, “How was thy ruling for the cow?”’; 29. 3, 6, 9; 31. 2; 32. 2; 43. 7, 8, 9, 12. With ūti ‘thus’: 45. 2 yaiiā spaniῑā ūti mrauuaṭ yōm āŋgrām: ‘nōiṭ nā manā …’, ‘of whom the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one, “Neither our thoughts …”’.

In 32. 1 the connection between the verb and the utterance is less close: āxiῑācā x’aētuś vāsat … Ahurahiῑā uruuāzomā Mazdā: ‘Ḍōi ḍitāŋhō ḍāhāmā’, ‘suppose the clan prays for his, for Lord Mazdā’s gladdening, (saying) “We will be thy messengers”’.

#### 271. When a question has been asked, it may be followed directly by the answer, with no explicit marking of the change of speaker: 29. 7–8 kas.tē vohū manaŋhā yē i dāiīā ḍēauuō maretaeibiōiʔ— āem mōi idā vistō, yē nē aeuuō sānā gūṣata’, ‘whom hast thou who by good thought could establish those things for mortals?—“This man here I have found, who alone listens to our teachings”’; 31. 5–6; 34. 5; 44. 12; 46. 14.

#### 272. In 44. 6, to express the idea ‘if it is a true proposition that …’, Zarathushtra says yā frauuxsiῑā yezī tā ḏā haidiῑā, ‘Ašāṃ štiuɑdbnāiś ḍehqazaii ḍArmaitiś’, … kaeibiōi … gm tāsō? ‘if what I am about to say is true so: “Piety in action confirms Right …”, for what people didst thou make the cow?’

#### 273. A piece of speech, or a thought formulated as if for speech, may be introduced with a noun that indicates its status: 29. 5 hīiť Mazdām duuaidā frasābiiōi:

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100 Spiegel §391; Skjærvø 99 f.
Particles

274. An utterance of one or two words can be treated as a nominal package and made the subject or object of a verb: 34. 10 ahiā vajhōuś managhō śīaobh-nā vacat 'gerabqm' huxratuś, ‘(of) this Good Thought’s deeds the wise man says “let them be seized hold of’”;} 53. 7 at vā ’vaiiōi’ anhaṭ apēmaṃ vacō, “‘Woe!’ will be your last utterance’, cf. 45. 3.

In other passages an exclamation is absorbed into a derived noun or compound: 31. 20 auuaqītās vacō, ‘Woeness by way of speech; 53. 6 vaiiū.baredbiiō, ‘for the Woe-criers’; 32. 12 yōi gāuś mōrōndōn uruaqās.uxtī jiiōtūm, ‘who pervers the cow’s life with the “Move!”-shout’.

Particles

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

There are notable differences of usage between the Gāthās and YH. Several particles appear in the latter but not in the former, and there is a systematic divergence in the placing of at (§277). The differences may be due to the difference between verse and prose, or to idiomatic differences between Zarathushtra’s speech and that of the author of YH.

Many particles are enclitic and can only stand after a tone-bearing word. Some of these (cā, cīt, cinā, nā) are conventionally printed as attachments to the preceding word, but the distinction between those that are and those that are not so treated is entirely conventional; it had of course no meaning in the oral phase of transmission.

101 Kellens–Pirart ii. 99–189; Skjærvø 149–53.
II. Morphosyntax

Sentence particles

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

277. Much the commonest is the one that appears in the Gāthās as at and in YH mostly as āt or āat.\(^{102}\) In the Gāthās it is normally initial, but postponed to second word in 31. 18; 43. 5 (and the five repetitions of this verse in the poem); and 48. 1 if adāiś is to be resolved into at āiś (§278). In 34. 15 Mazdā, at mōi ... the sentence may be considered to begin after the initial vocative (cf. §358). In YH, on the other hand, the particle is only once initial and otherwise postponed; the effect is to foreground the initial word. The one passage where it is initial is the exception that proves the rule, see §334.

In general at fulfils the role of a rather neutral sentence connective, continuative or prosecutive in effect. However, in three cases it appears at the beginning of a poem (30. 1; 45. 1; 49. 1), where it must be regarded as simply ingressive, not connective. In another passage it opens the reply to a question: 46. 14 kastē aśānuṁ urwañō mazōi magāi? kā vā fra.srūdiīāi vaśīti?—at huuō Kauṇā Vištāspō, ‘which righteous one is thy ally for the great rite? Who wishes to be renowned?—(Well,) it is the Kayī Viṣhtāspa’.

Sometimes at seems to have a lightly adversative tone; where any translation is called for, ‘but’ is often the most suitable. It has a clearly adversative sense when used within the sentence in an antithesis between clauses (which are compressed sentences), as in 30. 4 aćiśō droguatām, at aśānum vahiśtem manō, ‘the worst (existence) that of the wrongful, but for the righteous one, best thought’, cf. 34. 4; 43. 8.

Following a subordinate clause at often marks the beginning of the main clause in what might be called an ‘apodotic’ function:\(^{103}\) 30. 8 aṭcā yadā aēšān kaēnā jamatiī aēnajhām, at, Mazdā, taibiiō xṣābrem ... vōiūīdāītē, ‘and when the requital comes for their misdeeds, (then) for thee, Mazdā, will be found dominion’; 31. 2 yezi āiś nōit uruwaṅē aduwa aibi.draštā vaxiiā, at vā vispāṅ ā aiīoī, ‘if through these (words) the better way (is) not in plain view to the soul, (then) I appeal to you all’; 33. 3 yō aśāunē vahištō ... vidās vā ḍbāxšānjhā gauñōi, at huuō Aṣahiīā anhaṭ ... vāstrē, ‘he that is best to the righteous one ... or by tending the cow with care, (well,) he will be in the pasture of Right’; 43. 12 hiiaṭcā mōi mraoś ‘Aṣōm jasō’ frāxšnänē, at tū mōi nōit asruštā pairi.ayoḡā, ‘and when in thy providence thou tellst me “Go to Right”, (then) thou givest me advice that will not go unheeded’; 30. 7, 11; 34. 6; 46. 12; 48. 1; 50. 9.

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102 Cf. Narten (1986), 94 f., 257–9; G. E. Dunkel, HS 101 (1988), 53–78; Kellens–Pirart ii. 105–20; Skjærvø 150 f. Narten and Dunkel (56) regard at and ā(a) as of different origin, but apart from the matter of initial or deferred placement I can see no distinction of usage.

For combinations of *at* with other particles (*atcā, atcīt, at vā, at zī, etc.*) see below, §§281–3, 294, 297.

278. In three places *at* has probably been obscured in the written tradition by being run together with another monosyllabic particle or pronoun.

Twice we find in second position an obscure word *adāiš*: 48. 1 yezi *adāiš Ašā Drujom věnghaiti, ‘if [   ] Right will vanquish Wrong’; YH 35. 4 *gauuoī adāiš tāis šiaodnāiš yāīš vahištāiš fraešiṣāniha rdīmācā vāṣṭromcā daziīiāi, ‘for the cow [   ], with these actions that are the best, we urge the establishment of peace and pasture’. It is persuasively resolved by Narten (following Insler) into *at āiš, ‘thereby, hereby’.*

In YH 35. 6 *yādā āt utā nā vā nārī vā vaēdā haiβim, a봐 hah vohū tat ōādū vareziōtīcā āt ahmāi, ‘as anyone, either man or woman, knows a truth, so, if it being good, let him [   ] both put it into effect for himself and …’, the otiose *tat* is eliminated and the strange ōādū explained by Narten’s resegmentation as *tātā āt ū, where* *tātā =* Vedic *tātās ‘then, thereupon’ and ū is the common Vedic particle *u,* not otherwise apparent in the Avesta.

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

The special use of *cā* to introduce a conditional sentence, as it were ‘suppose’, has been dealt with in §255. In other cases *cā* simply marks a sentence as developing the content of the preceding one, as in 30. 3 *at tā mainīiū, … ma-nahi vacahicā šiaodanōi hī, vahiiō akomcā; ascā hudāhō orō všiītātā, ‘they are the two Wills, those two kinds of thought, of speech, of deed, the better and the evil; and between them well-doers discriminate rightly’; 43. 12; 47. 5; 49. 7, 10; 53. 5 *sāvōnī vaizīannābiīo kainibīīo mraomī xšmaibītācā, vadomnā: mōncā i dazdūm, ‘these precepts I speak for girls marrying and for you, bridegrooms; and (make sure you) take them to heart’.

*va* is used as a sentence connective in two circumstances:

1) With a relative pronoun, making provision for an alternative hypothetical sentence, as in 46. 5 *yō vā xṣaiiqā s dām driotā aiiantiom, ‘as for one who on his own authority should take into his house one who comes’, cf. 31. 13; 46. 8, 10.

2) With an interrogative pronoun in a series of questions: 34. 12 *kaṭ tōi rā-zarō, kaṭ vaśi, kaṭ vā sītō, kaṭ vā yasnahīiā? ‘what is thy rule, what dost thou wish, (or) what of praise, or what of worship?’; 46. 14; 51. 11. As if to say, ‘if you cannot answer my first question, here is an alternative one’.

Apart from the examples of conditional *cā,* sentence-connecting *cā* and *va* are in all cases attached to an initial monosyllable.

280. Apart from *at,* the commonest sentence particle is *zī* (enclitic; = Vedic *hī*). It generally has an explanatory force, ‘for’: 31. 18 *māciś at vā dregūuatō
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maṭrāscā guṣṭā sāṃśācā, ā zī dēmānom visām vā ... duṣitācā marākaecā, ‘let none of you listen to the wrongful one’s prescripts and teachings, for he will give house or manor into chaos and ruin’; 30. 10; 34. 3, 8, 14; 43. 10; 44. 2; 45. 1; 46. 6; 47. 6; 48. 2, 6, 12; 50. 5; 53. 4, 5.

In 51. 8 it is used twice in parentheses, where it is unclear what nuance it imparts: at zī tōi vaxṣīi. Mazda (viduše zī nā mruiiāt) hiata akōi ā dṛgūuaitē, uṣṭā yō Aṣam dadrē (huuō zī māṭrā śiitō, yō viduše mrauaitū) yām xšnūtam ... , ‘I will tell thee, Mazda (a man would be speaking to one who knows), that amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss for him who has embraced Right (happy that prophet who speaks to one who knows) is the atonement which ...’.

281. In nine places a sentence is introduced by the combination aṭcā. In 29. 9 it would seem to have adverbial force, and so perhaps in 49. 3, while in the other passages (30. 4, 8, 9; 34. 2; 43. 2; 53. 2, 7) it is simply progressive.

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

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

In YH 35. 7 the particles appear together in the reverse order, zī at. The at may be the ordinary connective, enclitic as usual in YH. The zī (its only occurrence in YH) marks a progression from a general maxim (anyone who knows a good truth should put it into effect and exhort others to do so) to its application: Ahurahiiā zī at vō Mazda yasmemcā vahmemcā vahiṣtōm amēhmaidī gēusçā vástrēm: tat at vō veraziīāmahi fracā vātōitiāmahi, ‘now, it is Lord Mazdā’s worship and praise that we have apprehended as your greatest good, and the cow’s pasture, and this we will put into effect for you and communicate’.

283. A further combination with at is aṭcīt. (For cīt see §305.) In 31. 1 it is used like simple at as the adversative in an antithesis within the sentence: aguṣṭā vacā sēnghāmāhī aēibīiō yōi uruuātāś drūjō aśahīiā gaēbā vimarcaitē, aṭcīt aēibīiō vahiṣṭā yōi zrazdā aḥhan Mazdāī, ‘we proclaim words unheeded by those who with the rules of Wrong are disrupting Right’s flock, yet the best for those who will be trustful towards Mazdā’. In 50. 3 it introduces a new sentence, and ‘yet’ is again a suitable rendering.

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

106 Cf. perhaps Latin atque.
person imperatives: 28. 6, 7 (twice); 34. 15; 43. 10; 46. 16; 49. 7; 53. 3; YH 39. 4; 41. 3, 4. This suggests that in origin it was an enclitic form of tuuēm ‘thou’, and in Old Avestan it may still have been felt to have this value. In 41. 2, however, it must have a less specific one: vohū xšađrem tōi, Mazdā Ahurā, apaēmā vispāi yauue; huxšābras.ū nē nā vā nārī vā xšaētā ubōiō apḫuωō, ‘thy good rule, Lord Mazdā, may we attain for evermore; and may a good ruler, whether man or woman, assume rule over us in both existences’. The particle perhaps underlines the link between huxšābras and the preceding vohū xšađrem.

285. An asseverative particle vōi (= Vedic vá) is found only at YH 36. 3, ātarś vōi Mazdā Ahurahīā ahī; mainituš vōi ahīā spēništō ahī, ‘truly, the fire of Mazdā the Lord art thou; truly, his most bounteous will art thou’.

286. The negative particles nōi and mā may also be classed as sentence particles; for them see §§10–13, 192.

For sentence-initial atV and adA, both meaning ‘then, thereupon’, adā ‘therefore’ (with imperative), and hortative nū, see §133.

Relational particles

287. The commonest of relational particles is the ubiquitous enclitic cā, ‘and’. Its predominant use is to link nouns or phrases that are syntactically on the same footing: pairs (or longer series) of nouns, of adjectives, of verbs, etc.

In the case of an added phrase consisting of more than one word, cā is attached to the first, as in 28. 1 Vaŋhōuš xratūm Manaŋhō ... gūšcā uruūanm, ‘Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’. (Contrast YH 39. 1 yazamaiđē gūš uruūanomcā tašānomcā, ‘we worship both the soul and the maker of the cow’, where the two accusatives are both qualified by gūš.)

288. Where there are two items to be joined, the basic pattern is A B–cā, = ‘A and B’. Or the cā may be added to both terms, A–cā B–cā, in which case we may translate ‘both A and B’: 29. 6 (quoted in §282); 30. 4 gaēmcā ajiiātīmcā, ‘both life and non-life’; 28. 2, 5, 10, etc.; YH 35. 2 iiadacā aniadacā, ‘both here and elsewhere’; ibid., verazītāmnāncā vāwūreznanacmcā, ‘both present and past’, etc. Such a pair may be in apposition to a preceding ubē ‘both’ (§21).

Less often cā is appended to the first term only: 30. 9 Mazdāscā Ahurāŋhō, ‘Mazdā and Lords’, cf. 31. 4; 30. 11 xēticā ōnēťī, ‘through success and failure’; 33. 8 amoṛtāscā utaiūti ĥauruwtās, ‘continuing life and health with vitality’; 34. 6; 43. 4; 51. 14. This may be a poetic licence, as it does not occur in YH.

289. Where there are three or more items, the primary pattern is A B-cā C-cā, as in 29. 11 kudā aşom vohucā manō xābremcā? 'where are right and good thought and dominion?'; 28. 3, 8; 32. 3. The comprehensive A-cā B-cā C-cā (31. 11) is suitable for solemn or hieratic formulae, and like the corresponding two-term pattern it occurs many times in YH.

Other arrangements, such as A B C-cā (30. 7, 10; 31. 6; 33. 10; 44. 5); A B-cā C (30. 3); A-cā B C-cā (33. 14); A B-cā C D E-cā (29. 1), are restricted to the Gāthās.

290. Words may also be joined asyndetically, with no cā at all, as in 28. 10 dādōng ... ashrōng, ‘upright and worthy’; 31. 20 daragōm aiiū tamaghō, dus-x'arestō, auaetās vacō, ‘a long age of darkness, foul food, the crying of woe by way of utterance’; 44. 10; 44. 17 hauuruutā anāratātā, ‘with health and continuing life’, cf. 18; 45. 7; 45. 9 pasūs virōng ahmahōkōng, ‘our herds and men’;

47. 3; 48. 4; in YH mostly with three terms (or more), 35. 2 humatanām hixtanām huaarstānum, ‘of good thought, good words, good deeds’; 36. 4–5 pairi'āsāmaidē nomax'īiamahī isūiūiāmahī ðīā, ‘we attend, revere, give thee thanks’, etc.

291. In a couple of passages cā is attached to a word that is not paired with anything, and here perhaps it is to be understood as ‘also’: 28. 3 yaēibiiō xša'bremcā ya'zāonuunamām varaxdaitā ārmaitiš, ‘you for whom piety increases your unimpaired dominion also(?)’; 32. 5 tā dōbnaotā māsim huijātōiš ... hiitāt vā akā managhā yōng daēuōng Akascā Mainīuš, ‘so ye lure the mortal from good living, as the Evil Will also does you who are Daevas, by evil thought’.

292. When two or more relative clauses are joined by cā, the implication is that the referents are different. So in 32. 10 huoō mā nā srawā mōrenāt, yō acištēm vaēnajhe aoqēda gam aśībitā huaarēcā, vasḵā dādōng dreguuaō dadāt, vasḵā vāstrā viuēpaṭ, vasḵā vadārā vōiždaṭ ašāmē, ‘that man perverts good repute, who declares that the worst thing to behold with the eyes is the cow, and the sun; and he who makes the upright wrongful, and he who destroys the pastures, and he who raises his weapon against the righteous one’, four kinds of wrongdoer are condemned, not one who does all those things; ‘and he who’ is equivalent to ‘or he who’. Likewise in 32. 14 hiitāt višōntā dreguuaōnām auō, hiitācā gūš jaidiāi mraoī, ‘when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one, and (or) when the cow is spoken for killing’.

293. A 2nd pl. pronoun or possessive adjective is occasionally accompanied by the name of someone included in the ‘you’, with cā: see §122. There is a similar phenomenon at 28. 6 dāḍī ... Zarathushtrāi aqōjōnghuat rafēno ahmaibiajācā, ‘give strong support to Zarathushtra and to us’, i.e. ‘to us, that is to myself, Zarathushtra, and to the rest of us’.

294. atcā, normally a sentence particle (§281), appears at 53. 4 as a strengthened form of -cā in a series of nouns: yā fōdōi vidāt paitiaēcā vāstriaēbiō
Particles

\[a\text{c}a\ x^{a}e\text{taauue}, \text{‘with which a woman may serve her father and husband, the herdsmen and the clan too’, or ‘but also the clan’}.

295. In a negative sentence parallel items are coordinated with \(n\text{oit} \ldots n\text{aead}\) ‘not … nor’; see §12.

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

For \(v\text{a} \ as \ a \ sentence \ connective \ see \ §279.

297. The combination \(a\text{t} \ v\text{a}\) is equivalent to simple \(v\text{a}\), but it precedes the host word: 33. 2 \(v\text{acah} \ v\text{a}, \ at \ v\text{a} \ manah\), \(z\text{ast}i\text{bi}i\text{a} \ v\text{a}, \ ‘whether \ by \ word \ or \ by \ thought \ or \ by \ hands’; 33. 3 \(x^{a}e\text{ti}u \ v\text{a}, \ at \ v\text{a} \ v\text{erez\text{a}n\text{i}i}, \ ai\text{ri}i\text{mm}n\text{a} \ v\text{a}, \ ‘whether \ with \ clan \ or \ with \ village \ or \ with \ tribe’; 33. 8.

298. The enclitic \(\text{t}b\text{a}\text{t}\) (in \text{YH} \(\text{t}b\text{a}\text{t}\)) is used in disjunctions where the terms are not mutually exclusive alternatives but each valid at different times; it means approximately ‘as the case may be’, ‘beziehungsweise’: 44. 3 \(k\text{o} \ y\text{a} \ m\text{a} \ u\text{x}\text{s}i\text{te}i \ n\text{ara}\text{f}\text{si}a\text{t}i \ \text{t}b\text{a}\text{t}\) ‘who is it through whom the moon now waxes, now wanes?’; \text{YH} 35. 10 \(s\text{to}t\text{ai}\text{i} \ \text{t}b\text{a}\text{t} \ \ldots \ \text{sto}t\text{o}i\text{bi}i\text{o} \ a\text{i}i\text{b}, \ u\text{x}\text{d}\text{a} \ \text{t}b\text{a}\text{t} \ u\text{x}\text{o}i\text{bi}i\text{io}, \ \text{yasa}\text{n} \ \text{t}b\text{a}\text{t} \ yas-n\text{o}i\text{bi}i\text{io}, \ ‘be it with praises where praises are concerned, or with utterances where utterance is concerned, or with act of worship where acts of worship are concerned’.

Focusing particles

299. In 29. 6 \(n\text{oit} \ a\text{e}\text{uu}\text{a} \ ah\text{u} \ v\text{isto} \ n\text{aead} \ \text{ratu}\text{s}, \ ‘indeed \ no \ patron \ has \ been \ found, \ nor \ a \ ruling’, \(a\text{e}\text{uu}\text{a} \ is \ evidently \ an \ intensifying \ particle, \ the \ counterpart \ of \ Vedic \ \text{ev}\text{a}.

300. Besides its prepositional and preverbal usages, \(a\) appears as an enclitic strengthening particle attached to relative, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns. The particle is probably a different word from the pre-verb/preposition.\(^{108}\)

Relative: 29. 9 \(y\text{e}m \ a \ v\text{asam}i \ i\text{s}\text{a}x\text{sa}d\text{r}i\text{m}, \ ‘whom \ I \ wish \ enabled \ with \ authority’; 31. 7 \(t\text{a} \ \ldots \ \text{maim}i\text{i}i \ u\text{x}\text{si}i\text{o}, \ y\text{a} \ \text{nu}\text{r}\text{em}c\text{i} \ \ldots \ \text{ham}\text{o}, \ ‘through \ that \ will \ thou \ dost \ increase, \ which \ even \ now \ is \ the \ same’; 43. 8 \(\text{vau}u\text{u}t \ a \ \text{t}b\text{a} \ \ldots \ \text{st}a\text{omi} \ \text{ufi}i\text{ac}a, \ ‘just \ as \ long \ as \ I \ am \ praising \ and \ hymning \ thee’; 50. 7 \(\text{vai} \ a \ \text{z}a\text{d}\text{a}, \ ‘with \ which \ ye \ will \ win’; \text{YH} 36. 1 \(a\text{hi}i\text{i} \ \ldots \ \text{ab}r\text{o} \ \ldots , \ y\text{a} \ \text{axti} \ \text{a}h\text{ma}, \ y\text{e}m \ \text{axt}o\text{i}i\text{o}i\text{i}\text{)}.\)

\(^{108}\) É. Pirart argues that it represents a systematic alteration of \(u = \text{Vedic} \ u \ (\text{Kellens–Pirart ii. 131–40). The hypothesis has a certain amount in its favour, though it is obscure how such a transformation should have come about. In Vedic \(a\) too serves as an intensifying particle, though its usage does not particularly resemble that of Avestan \(a\).
dāghē, ‘of this fire, which is torment for him whom thou puttest to torment’.

Demonstrative (referring back): 32. 15 anāś ā vīnānāśa yā Karpōtāscā Kouūtāscā, ‘with these (activities) the Karpanhood and Kavihood have lost their way’; 34. 11 tāē ā, Mazdā, āviduaēśāṃ ēbōī ahēt, ‘with these, Mazdā, thou …’; 53. 6 anāś ā manahīm ahūm morangadūtīē, ‘with them ye ruin spiritual life’; 53. 8 anāś ā dužwaarṣanāhī daʃnīīa hēntū, ‘hereby let the evildoers be thwarted’.

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

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

302. utā ‘also’ (= Vedic uta) appears only in YH: 35. 6 yaƀa at utā nā vā nāri vā vaędā haidīm, ‘as also either a man or a woman knows a truth’; 40. 4 aƀa x’aē-tuś, aƀa varezāna, aƀa haxōmam xīiāit, yāiś hiscamaide; aƀa vō utā xīiāmā, ‘so may it be with the clan, so with the communities, so with the societies we associate with; so also may we be for you’, i.e. ‘so may you find us also’.

303. The kām that appears reinforcing a dative pronoun at verse-end in 44. 20 yōī piśieinī aēbihō kām, yāiś …, ‘they that blaspheme(?) for the sake of those with whom …’, corresponds to Vedic kām ‘well’, which is also used after datives, especially at verse-end, meaning ‘for the sake of’.

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

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

109 In 28. 11 yāiś ā aḥhuś paouruiitō bauvīt, ‘through which the pristine existence may come about’, the ā perhaps rather modifies bauvīt so as to mean adsīt; cf. 30. 7; 31. 9; YH 39. 1. In several places the addition of the particle after yā or tā would mend defective metre: 43, 4, 10; 45. 3; 49. 3.

110 Lommel’s ūfbūtahī ‘thou frightenest’ looks plausible, but āviduaēśa- should mean ‘countering the enemy’, ‘opposing hatred’, and so be a predicate of Mazdā himself or his supporters; in any case the -qm ending is wrong, and the half-line has too many syllables.

111 aiiōm is my emendation for angrō, which is a senseless anticipation from the end of the line: West (2008), 127.
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the sense of ‘X at least’ or ‘even X’: 29. 6 nōīt aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš aṅāt-cīt hacā, ‘indeed no patron has been found, nor a ruling, at any rate in line with Right’; 29. 10 aṅēmci, ‘I at any rate’, ‘I for one’, cf. 46. 18; 30. 1 yā maz-dādā hiiat-cīt viduṣē, ‘things that you are to bring to attention even in the case of one who knows’ (cf. §312); 31. 5 tācīt ... yā nōīt vā aṅhaṭ aṅhaṭī vā, ‘just those things that will not be or will be’, cf. 32. 11; 44. 3; 46. 19; 31. 7 nūrōmcīt, ‘even now’, cf. 51. 1 nūcīt ‘right now’; 32. 8 Viuuanhuṣū ... Yimas-cīt, ‘the son of Vivalvant, Yima himself’, cf. 14; ibid., aēšaqmcīt, ‘regarding those very things’; 32. 16 hamVm taṭ vahisṭaṭcīt, ‘that is equal to the very best’; ibid., yehiīā mā aṅāt-cīt duuāedā, ‘of that whose very danger is a threat’; 33. 14 Zarāḍuṣtrō tanuascīt x’axiīā uṣtanom dadāṭī, ‘Zarathushtra dedicates the energy of his own very body’; 34. 7 yōī ... aspōncīt sāḍraṇcīt caxraiō uṣaurū, ‘who can make even misfortunes, even sorrows innocuous’; 34. 13 daēnā saośiśantaṃ yā hūkaraṭā Aṣācīt uruāxaṣaṭ, ‘(the road) on which the Promoters’ moral selves advance from Right itself’; 47. 4 kasūuṛcīt nā aṅāunē kāḍō aṅhaṭ; isuācīt hāṣ paraśo akō drogūaṭe, ‘even the poor man may be kind to the righteous one, even the man of much means malign towards the wicked’.

For the special use of cīt with the interrogative stem ka- to make an indefinite pronoun see §142. This is the only use of cīt found in YH.

306. In 29. 4, in a polar expression referring to past and future, the contrasted adverbs of time are each underlined with ciqIT, a combination of cīt and IT (§300): saXaRv ... yā zī vāuurezōī paiṛī cīṭ ... yācā vārśaitē aipī cīṭ, ‘initiatives, both those that have been enacted before and those that will be hereafter’.

307. In negative sentences cinā is used instead of cīt: 30. 6 aiiā nōīt aroś vi.Śiītā daēuuccinā, ‘between those two not even the Daevas discriminate rightly’; 31. 10 nōīt. Mazdā, awuāstīriō dauugscinā humoretoīś baxstā, ‘the non-herdsman, Mazdā, drive(?) her as he might, did not get her goodwill’.

In 29. 6 (quoted in §305), where we have cīt, the negative does not relate to the emphasized word in the same way; it is not ‘not even in line with Right’.

308. The enclitic bā makes an isolated appearance in Old Avestan at YH 35. 5, huxʃaḍrōtemmā bā at xṣābram ... dadomahicā cīṣmahicā huuamahicā, ‘to the best ruler we dedicate, assign, and inaugurate rule’. In the Younger Avesta, where it is commoner, it regularly comes, as here, after the first word of the sentence, to which it lends emphasis. That it takes precedence over the sentence connective at implies its close connection with the word huxʃaḍrōtemmā.

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

With relative (like Greek ὃς περ): 31. 5 Vohū Mananḥā ... yeṣṭiṁ mā ṛaṇaśi, ‘with Good Thought, the one whose prophet (I am)’; 32. 16 xṣaīṣu ... yeṣṭiṁ mā aiśvaiauṇā, ‘in control of just that whose very danger is a threat’, cf. 48. 9; 43. 10 aṭ tū māi dāiḥ Aṣem, hiṁat mā zaṇaṇā, ‘show me Right, the one I constantly invoke’; 44. 12 yā mā dṛguvaṁ ṽṛbā sauṇaṁ paɪtĩ.ṣrēte, ‘the wrongful one, the very one who takes pleasure in opposing thy gains’; 46. 9 kō huuo, yā mā airoḍrō cōīdaṁ paṇuruṣiio, ‘who is he, that zealous one who will be the first to recognize …?’

With demonstrative: 32. 10 huuo mā na sraṇuva mōṛeṇḍat, yā ..., ‘that is the man who perverts good repute, the one that …’, cf. 11; 50. 2 akṣaṁ tēṅga mā niś aṣṭi, ‘drive out those evil ones (specifically)’.

The remaining instances are: 43. 9 rāṭam namanjoḥ Āṣaṁiṁ mā, yauvaṭ iṣāi, maniian, ‘the tribute of reverence of Right, so far as I can, I will be thinking of’; 46. 9 yā tōi Aṣa, yā Aṣai gōuṣ taśa mraṇa, iṣenti mā tā tōi vohū mananjoḥ, ‘what things Right said to thee, and the maker of the cow to Right, they put into practice for thee with good thought’; or more likely it is a question, ‘do they put them into practice?’

311. Besides its use as a sentence particle, zī appears a number of times following a relative pronoun in clauses of a comprehensive character, especially those embracing past, present, and future: 29. 4, see §306; 33. 10 tā huiṭaiiio, yā zī āγharō yāsca hentī yāscā ... buuaṁi, ‘those good lives that have been and that are and that will come to be’; 45. 7 yōi zī juua拿起 āγharacā buuaicā, ‘those living and who have been and who will come to be’. Others: 31. 14 tā ... yā zī ā aeti jōghacā, ‘those things that are approaching and will come’; 34. 14 vauhāuś śīaōdño mananjoḥ, yōi zī gōuṣ veṇoṇe aṣṭiä, ‘through enactment of good thought (by) those in the community of the milch cow’; 47. 5 aṣṇūne cōiś yā zī cīcā vahiṣṭā, ‘thou assignest to the righteous one whatever best things there be’.

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

312. The neuter relative pronoun hiit is used as a particle with the sense ‘when it comes to’, ‘as regards’: 30. 1 yā mazdāü hiit.cit viuṣe, ‘things that you are to bring to attention even (when it comes) to one who knows’; 31. 14 yadā tā aṣhan hōṅkeraṁ hiit, ‘how those (requisites) will be (as regards) at the Reckoning’; 33. 1 śīaōdño raṇišťa druguuaicā hiitcā aṣṇūne, ‘by action most just both for the wrongful one and (as regards) for the rightfull one’; YH 35. 5 and 40. 1 aṁat hiit aib, ‘insofar as depends on us’.

In YH 35. 5 it stands for ‘which is to say’, ‘namely’: huxaḥrōm̄u bā aṭ xṣaṇr̄o ... dadmahicā c̄iṣmahicā huuaṇmahicā, hiit Mazdāi Ahurāi, ‘to the best
ruler we dedicate, assign, and inaugurate rule, that is, to Mazdā the Lord'.\textsuperscript{112} In 37. 4 \textit{Ašam aṭ vahištem yazamaide \textit{hiiat} sraēstom, \textit{hiiat} spōntem, \textit{<hiiat>\textit{amōsom} etc., it is possible to take \textit{hiiat} as simply the neuter pronoun after the neuter \textit{Ašam}, but it may rather have the force of ‘because’, ‘\textit{qua}’: ‘Best Right we worship as the fairest, as bounteous, as immortal’. In 39. 2 \textit{daitikanāmca aidiīnām \textit{hiiat} urunō}, it is ‘and the souls of wild creatures insofar as they are harmless

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{112} This foreshadows the wider use of \textit{yat} as an indeclinable relative particle in the later Avesta.

\textsuperscript{113} For my insertion of the third \textit{hiiat} cf. West (2008), 130.
III. Word Order

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

In treating of word order in Old Avestan we have to recognize that the evidence is drawn exclusively from highly stylized texts. We have no specimens of ‘natural’ or informal language such as might be afforded by a personal letter or a plain narrative report. YH at least is in prose and may be presumed free from such distortions of ‘natural’ word order as may have been admissible in poetry. It is high-flown prose, marked by resonant word-groupings and balancing of phrases. We have the impression nevertheless that ordinary sentence structures are discernible underneath. Even in the Gāthās, where the sentences are often more tortuous and the order of words seemingly unnatural, there are clearly limits to what can be done and it is possible to observe tendencies and formulate principles.

314. One approach to the study of word order is to try to establish principles governing the position in the sentence of grammatical constituents such as the subject, verb, object, and modifiers of various kinds. However, the degree of inflection in a language such as Old Avestan allows considerable freedom in the ordering of such constituents, and while it is possible to detect some underlying patterns, this does not go very far towards explaining the word order of actual sentences. For this it is necessary to consider factors such as the identity of the topic in a given sentence, its need for specificity in the context, and the requisite distribution of emphasis in what is to be said about it.

315. The topic may be defined as the notion to which attention is primarily directed as the focus of the utterance; it is sometimes called the theme as opposed to the rheme (what is said about it). This analysis into theme and rheme is analogous to the grammatical analysis into subject and predicate (§3) but does not align with it: the topic or theme is not necessarily the grammatical subject.

1 Cf. Watkins (1994), 261, ‘It is a fact of earlier Indo-European literary languages—by which I mean the elevated poetry (as it usually was) of a variety of oral traditions—that they were particularly receptive to the permutation of the order of certain sentential elements as a form of verbal art.’
The topic may be one already established in the preceding sentence(s) or a new one. If it is already established, it will often be expressed by means of an anaphoric pronoun referring back to the previous sentence; often it will not be expressed at all, being understood as the subject of the third-person verb; or occasionally it may be rhetorically highlighted by repeating it explicitly in a structure matching its presentation in a previous clause (anaphora: §§389–90). In this case the topic is emphasized. But where it is represented by an anaphoric pronoun, that pronoun may or may not be an emphatic one; and where the topic is left to be understood, clearly there can be no emphasis on it.

If the topic is a new one, it may be expressed by a noun in the nominative or some other case, or by a verb or other part of speech, or by a relative clause that defines it. It will naturally and normally be placed early in the sentence.

316. In any sentence some words are meant to carry more emphasis than others. Emphasis is perceived by contrast, by an alternation of emphatic and unemphatic. The words requiring emphasis cannot all be put together, or they would not then come across as emphatic. There must be an alternation of peaks and troughs. The peaks will be of varying heights, as different words in a sentence are likely to call for differing degrees of emphasis. The emphatic words will often be outnumbered by the unemphatic ones, and the troughs may be quite extended.

317. As we have seen, many sentences are compound, containing one or more dependent clauses as well as a main clause. Each clause forms a distinct pericope from the point of view of word order analysis.

Within the clause some words cohere more closely than others, forming phrasal units between which one might in delivery make a very slight pause, not necessarily one sufficient to support punctuation. Such units may be called cola or commata, depending on their bulk. On their identification see §331.

The Placing of Emphatic Elements

Initial position

318. The initial position in the sentence is potentially one of moderate or strong emphasis. This is clear from several types of evidence:

1) Words highlighted by anaphora typically stand at the beginning of the clause, as in 28. 7 dādī, Ašā, tām aśīm, … dādī tū, Ārmaitē, … dāsītū, Mazdā, …, "give, Right, that reward … give, Piety … give, Mazdā"; 31. 9 ḫōī as ārmaitiś, 2 Delbrück iii. 56.

3 In the Rigveda it can happen that there is only one accented word in the line, as at 5. 57. 7c prāśāstim nah krūta Rudriyāso.
Word Order

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2) Demonstrative pronouns in initial position certainly carry emphasis in cases such as 28. 5 anā māqrā mazištām vāurōimaidi xrafsrā, ‘with this prescript may we most fully convince the predators’; 29. 7 tēm āūtōiś Ahurō māqrēm taśāt, ‘that is the butter prescript that the Lord made’; 31. 20 tēm va ahūm, droguuanṭo, šiiaōdaṃāiś xvāiś daēnā naēṣāt, ‘that is the existence, ye wrongful, to which through your own actions your morality will bring you’; 31. 3 yām dā ... xṣnūtōm, hitia ururuīem cazdōghuadobiō, taṅ nō, Mazdā, viduuanōi vaocā, ‘the atonement that thou didst establish, the rule that is for the prudent—tell us that, Mazdā, for our knowledge’; 32. 1 axiiācā x'aētuś yāsāt, ahiīā varezōnem maṭ airtiamā, ahiīā daēuuā ..., Ahurahīiā ururuīəmə Mazdā, ‘suppose for his the clan prays, for his the village with the tribe, for his the Daevas, for the Lord Mazdā’s gladding’; cf. 28. 1.

3) The emphatic forms of the personal pronouns are used in initial position, with evident force: 28. 9 yūzhōm zuuištīiāŋhō, ‘ye are the promptest ones’; 28. 11 tuōm Mazdā Ahurā frō mā sīsā, ‘do thou, Lord Mazdā, teach me’; 29. 10 yūzhōm aēibiō, Ahurā, aogō dātā, ‘grant ye them, Lord, strength’; ibid., azōmcīt ahiīā, Mazdā, òbqam mējhi paouruūm vaēdom, ‘I for one, Mazdā, think of thee as the prime procurer of it’. Similarly after an unemphatic sentence-connective: 29. 11 at mām aṣā yūzhōm, Mazdā, frācṣnēnē mazōi magāiīa pai-tīzānātā, ‘it is me that ye should rightly acknowledge, Mazdā, in your providence, for the great rite’.

4) Interrogative pronouns, which may be supposed to carry the main emphasis in questions, regularly stand in initial position.

5) When the initial position is occupied by a word or phrase that is not the subject or the verb, in some instances at least it is evidently being emphasized by that placing (‘fron ting’): 28. 1 vanhōus xratūm manayhō vā xṣnouuiśā gēuścā ururuīem, ‘(through action) by which thou wouldst satisfy Good Thought’s wisdom and the cow’s soul’; 31. 22 yōhū huūō xṣadrā aṣam vacaṅhā šīaōdaṃacā hapītī, ‘with good command he holds on to Right in word and deed’; 43. 16 astuusat Aṣam xītā, ‘in material form may Right be present’; 47. 5 hanarō ūbḥam-māt zaośāt drogūuā baxśaitīt, ‘it is without thy favour that the wrongful one partakes thereof’; YH 35. 7 Ahurahīiā zī at [vā] Mazdā yasnomcā vahmocā vahśitrem amōhmaitī, ‘but it is Lord Mazdā’s worship and praise that we have apprehended as the greatest good’.

Similarly when such a phrase comes first after unemphatic initial particles: 29. 6 at zī ūbā fṣuiantaecā vāstrīiīcā ūbōrōstā tataśā, ‘but, you see, it is for the stock-raiser and the herdsman that the Shaper has fashioned thee’.
III. Word Order

Final position

319. Although unemphatic elements such as verbs and vocatives often come at the end of the sentence (§§344, 360), nouns and adjectives held back to that place can be emphatic.

We find this notably with comparatives and superlatives: 31. 2 yezi āś nōiḥ uruuānē aduā ṛiḥi, ‘if hereby the way that is better is not in plain view to the soul’; 31. 5 hiiāt mōi Aśā dāā vahiiō, ‘that better lot you have appointed for me with Right’, cf. 53. 9; 31. 17 katārōm aśauā vā droguā vā vereṇauvaitē maziō? ‘which one, the righteous or the wrongful, is to be the more persuasive?’; 49. 1 aṭ mā yawuā bōnuuō pafē maziō, ‘that greatest polluter(?) has fed himself full on my life’; 51. 1 aśa aŋtāre.caraitī šīiaōbnāiś, Mazdā, vahisēm, ‘through righteous actions, Mazdā, it travels across best’; 53. 9 īrētu īś duauaśō huuō dereṇa meroṭiīoaś maziō, ‘let there come upon them that greatest woe with the fetter of death’.

Similarly with other absolute terms such as ‘first’ or ‘all’: 46. 9 yō mā aredrō coīmvā paουruuīvē, ‘the zealous one who will be first to recognize’, cf. 51. 15; 31. 13 tā caśmōṅg ḍhīsā hārō ailī Aśā vaēnāhī vīspā, ‘those things, watchful with thy blazed eye, thou regarde with Right, all of them’; 53. 8 anāiś ā duṇuuruvarṣṭānāḥo dafsniā hēntū zaṭiīāc vīspaḥō, ‘hereby let the evildoers be thwarted and mocked, all of them’.

Examples outside these categories: 29. 3 yahmāi zauuōṅg jīmā kereduśā, ‘to whose calls I will come short-eared(?)’; 30. 11 aṭ aipī tāś āṃjhatī uṣṭā, ‘then thereafter it will be as we desire’ (end of poem); 32. 8 aṃṣaṃ aṃṇaŋhaṃ Vi-vuauhuśō srāuū Vīmascīt, ‘for such offences Vivahvant’s son became re-known, even Yīma’; 47. 4 ahmāt māiniūś rārēsīieiṇī dṛoguauṭō, Mazdā, spantāt, ‘from this will the wrongful deflect us, Mazdā, from the bounteous one’; 51. 11 kā vā vaŋhōuṣ manajhō aciṣṭā magāi orēśuṅo? ‘or who has gained the insight for Good Thought’s rite, what upright man?’

Distribution of emphasis by distraction

320. Emphatic positions are short, as effective emphasis cannot be sustained over a series of consecutive words. It is common, accordingly, for two relatively emphatic words in a phrase, even when they belong closely together from a grammatical point of view, to be separated by one or more less emphatic ones. This may be called distraction. Often, as shown in the quotations below, they are wrapped round a verb, or a genitive phrase is wrapped round the noun on which it depends. Translations may here be dispensed with.

321. An adjective is often separated from the noun it agrees with; the adjective usually precedes. Examples: 28. 1 Vaŋhōuṣ xratūm Manajhō, cf. 28. 10 quoted in §323; 28. 4 (and very frequently) vohū ... manajhā; 28. 9 anāiś ... yānāś; 28. 11 ḍbahmāt vaocajṭē mainnīūś; 29. 5 ustānāś ... zastaś; 30. 11
daragām ... raśô; 31. 13 à mazištām yamaitē būjem; 31. 22 vāziştō ahpāiī astīś; 43. 3 oruzūś sauvaŋhō paľo; 43. 4 ḏōhāiūī garamā ōdrō; 44. 9 hudānaoś paitīś saxīīā tšābrahīīā; 44. 11 Ŝōīī vāsiétude daēnā; 44. 14 ḏōhāiūī mātrāīś sēngahīiā, 46. 11 xʾaēcā xraoadα daēnā; 49. 2 spoṇṭām ... ṣārmāīī; 49. 7 vaŋhīm dāt frasastiṃ; 51. 21 tōm vaŋhīm yāsā aṣīm; 54. 1 vairim hanāt mizdoum.

Following the noun: 28. 1 mainiīōuś ... spoṇṭahīīā; 31. 2 adaǔu aibī dērēštā vaxīīā; 32. 2 Aṣahīīā ... xʾēnuuūīā; 34. 14 gōuś vōrēzōnē aṣīīā; 45. 7 nērāś ... drōguuātō.

322. The same is true of dependent genitives.

Preceding the head noun: 29. 7 ēţūōiś ... mābrām; 30. 10 drūōō ... spoṭhīīā; 31. 8 anhōuś ... šīaodnaēšīī; 32. 9 jiāāuś ... xratūm; 32. 12 gōuś ... jiōōtūm; 32. 14 ahiīā ... ēḥōīōi; 34. 3 hudāŋhō ... sauuoū; 44. 3 xʾēng strēmēcā dāt aduūānem; 44. 11 mainiīōuś spasiīā duuatēsahjā; 44. 13 nōiī aṣahīīā ādūuīieīiī hacēnā; 45. 3 ahpūōuś ... apēōmā; 51. 13 drōguuātō merađaitī daēnā, ibid., ʿasahīīā nāsuaū paľo; 51. 17 Aṣahīīā ēḍīiīā gāreždīm; 54. 1 Aṣahīīā yāsā aṣīm.

Following the head noun: 30. 8 kaēnā jamaīīī aēṇaŋhām; 31. 2 ratūm ... aiiā ʿasiiīā; 31. 14 īšūdō dadeṇtē dādrānem; 43. 6 ratūś ... ʿasahīīā xratūš; 45. 13 arothā ... kāmahīīā ... dāragahīīā yāoś; 51. 2 xšmākōm (xšaōrām) ... sauvaŋhō.

323. Distraction of co-ordinated elements: 28. 1 Vānhōuš xratūm Mananphō yā xʾshnouiišā gōušcā ūruuānem, ‘through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’; 28. 10 at yēng Aṣāṭcā vōistā Vānhōušcā dādōng Mananphō, ‘those then whom thou knowest to be upright before Right and Good Thought’; 31. 11 gāeḏācā tašō daēngscā, ‘thou madest our living bodies and moral selves’; 31. 18 mābrāscā guštā sēnsāscā, ‘listen to the prescripts and teachings’; 44. 3 tācī ʿazdā māzūm aṇītacā vīdūiīē, ‘these things and others, Mazdā, I desire to know’; 44. 14 dūuaʃōng ... nāšē aṭastscā, ‘to bring pains and harassments’; 45. 11 daēuānong ... ʿashtiṣāscā, ‘Daevas and mortals’; 46. 15 hiit aḏaḫāng vī catiabā aḏadastscā, ‘when you distinguish between the just and the unjust’; 47. 6 ārmatoiś dobaʒanphā aṣaxīiṣcā, ‘the reinforcement of piety and right’; 48. 4 yā dāt manō vahiīō, Mazdā, aṣhtscā, ‘he who sets in place better thought, Mazdā, or worse’; 48. 6 hā nū utaiiiūtī dāt tōuīištī, ‘she gives us vitality and strength’ (dual dvanda, cf. §43); 49. 4 yōī ... aēšmēm vareḍen rēṃcēcā, ‘who increase violence and cruelty’; 51. 14 nōiī ūruuādā dōtōiṭiṣcā Karpānō vāstrasound ʿarōm, ‘the Karpans are not fit allies from the standpoint of (your) ordinances and the pasture’; 53. 7 parā mraocaş aoracā, ‘dipping onward and downward’; 53. 8 dufnīiū hō̄ntī aṣaxīiṣcā, ‘let them be thwarted and mocked’; 53. 9 yā tis jiitāuš hōm.mībiṭiṭ vās.īoīiscā, ‘who could deprive them of life and freedom’; YH 40. 2 ʿamācā ahuiīē mānaxiiēcā, ‘for this existence and the spiritual one’.
324. In the double accusative construction where one accusative is the object of the verb and the other a secondary predicate, the two are usually not adjacent. Often the verb is interposed between them. See quotations in §55.

325. Correlative demonstrative and relative pronouns or adverbs are usually separated; see quotations in §129. But exceptions are not particularly rare: 31. 1 aēibīiō yōi; 33. 8 tā yā; 43. 4 auuā yā; 44. 16 ahmāi yahmāi; 44. 19 auuqm yā; 46. 2 tāt yā; 46. 16 tāīš yēng; YH 35. 6 aēibīiō yōi; 36. 1 ahmāi yēm.

The Placing of Unemphatic Elements

Enclitics

326. Certain classes of word are intrinsically unemphatic, as the purposes they serve are such that emphasis is never required on them.

1) The personal pronouns have separate emphatic and unemphatic forms (§§120, 123), the unemphatic ones being chosen when no emphasis is wanted on the person to which they refer. They are enclitic, meaning that they can only occur after a more emphatic word.

2) The particles reviewed in §§275–311 are unemphatic except for the negatives nōit naē mā and the other particles mentioned in §286. Nearly all of them, moreover, are enclitic.

The sentence-connective at is normally treated as enclitic in YH (and often written āt or āat), but in the Gāthās it is nearly always initial in the clause. There, while it cannot be considered emphatic, it can support an enclitic: 31. 8 al. at ůbā; 49. 1 at mā; 33. 9 al. at tōi; 43. 8 al. at hōi; 50. 4 at vā; 50. 7 al. at vē; and so in the compounds atcā, at zī, at vā (§§281–2, 293, 296).

327. The relational particles cā, vā, ůbāt, and the various focusing particles are enclitics and follow the particular word that they connect or emphasize, wherever it stands in the sentence. Enclitic sentence particles, on the other hand, regularly stand in the second position in the clause, following the initial peak of emphasis.

So do enclitic pronouns, even though in sense they are often most closely related to a word later in the sentence, as in 28. 3 ā mōi rafeḍrāi zauuēng jasatā, ‘come ye to my calls to give help’; 28. 7 yā vē maqbrā srāuēmā rādā, ‘the prescript in which we might hear your caring’; 28. 9 anāiś vā nōit ... yānāiś zar-a-naēmā, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you’.

328. This second position in the clause represents the clearest and most regular trough in the profile of emphasis. Here a sequence of enclitics may occur: 29. 6 at zī ůbā; 31. 18 māciś at vē; 34. 2 atcā 1 tōi; 34. 8 tāīš zī nā; 45. 3 yōi ūm vē; YH 35. 5 huxśabōtōmāi bā at; 35. 6 tatē āt ū (? cf. §278); 35. 7 Ahurahīiā zī at
vā (where, however, vā seems to be otiose); 36. 3 hiiaṭ vā tōi; 36. 6 sraēštām at tōi; 39. 4 yaḏā tū rā; 40. 4 rapōiš.cā tū nā.

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

329. Occasionally in YH the enclitic is displaced to follow a closely cohering two-word phrase: 35. 6 fracā vātōiottū uten aēbiio, yōi ..., ‘and let him communicate it to those who …’; 36. 2 nāmištahīīa namānīhā nā mazištāi yāŋham pai-tījamīīa, ‘with the most reverent one’s reverence mayest thou come for our greatest of supplications’; 41. 2 vohū xsādram tōi, Mazdā Ahūrā, apaēmā, ‘thy good dominion, Lord Mazdā, may we attain’.

Unemphatic elements in initial position

330. We have seen that the initial position in the clause is one favoured for emphasis-bearing words. However, clauses do not necessarily begin with such a word. It was noted in §318 that the first emphatic word may be preceded by such particles as at, atcā, at zi, or at vā, and in §326 that enclitic pronouns may succeed these immediately, not only after the intervention of an emphasis-bearing word. Other unemphatic sentence-initiators with the same property are:

1) Preverbs modifying a verb that may not come till the end of the sentence or verse, as in 28. 3 a mōi rafōdrāi zauuōng jasatā, ‘come ye to my calls to give help’; 31. 18 a zi dēmānem višom vašōtbrōm va daxiūm va dūt | dušītacā marēkaeucā, ‘for he will give house or manor or district or region into chaos and ruin’; 33. 13 frō spentā Āraimitē ašā daēna daxšatā, ‘liberal Piety, teach me moral principles in accord with Right’; 34. 5 parā va vispāš vauxmā daēuuiāischā xrastraśī mašiīaеcā, ‘we have declared you beyond all predators, both Daevas and mortals’ (where the emphasis falls mainly on vispāš); 48. 7 nī aēsmō di-iṭām, paitī remem siiōdum, ‘let violence be tied down, cut short cruelty’; 49. 3 antarā vispāng dreguwaṭō haxmēng mruiiē, ‘I interdict all wrongful ones from my company’.4

2) Relative pronouns and other words introducing a dependent clause (yaḏā, yadā, yezi, hiiaṭ, etc.). With enclitic pronoun attached: 28. 2 and 3 yē vā; 28. 7 yā vē; 28. 9 yōi vē; 31. 6 hiiaṭ hōi; 46. 9 yaḏa ḏābā; 48. 9 yezi cahiiā, and passim.

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

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Commatization

331. It was remarked in §317 that within clauses smaller word-groupings (colas or commata) are sometimes to be distinguished. In what follows I shall use the symbols : and ; to mark respectively lighter and more distinct boundaries between them.

One sign of the existence of such boundaries is the placing of enclitics, since they regularly go in the second position within their word-group. Thus in 28. 11 tuuomidou Mazdā Ahūrā : frō mā sīṣā, ‘do thou, Lord Mazdā, teach me’, frō mā sīṣā, with its initial preverb followed by the enclitic pronoun, shows the features of a new colon. The initial emphatic pronoun + vocative, accordingly, may be regarded as a first comma, as if we were to break the clause in two, ‘now, as for thee, Lord: teach me’. The two commata correspond to theme and rhyme. Similarly in 33. 13 rafoḍrāi vouru.caṣānē : dōiśī möi yā vō ā bīrā, ‘for (my) support, O far-seeing one, show me the virtues(?) that are yours’; 44. 7 azām : tāīs ṭīsā fraxānī auuāmī, ‘I with these (questions) am providently promoting thee’; 51. 21 ārmatōīs nā : spoṅtō huuō cistī, ‘the man of piety, he is liberal in insight’.

The first comma in these passages contains the topic; it prepares for the essential utterance by indicating its direction. 33. 13 is not the only place where this function is performed by an initial dative; so too 29. 1 xšmaibīīā : gāuḥ uruwa gorazdā, ‘to you the cow’s soul complains’; 29. 3 (after the speech of the Cow’s Maker) ahmāī : Ašā … paitī.mrauat, ‘to him Right will answer’; 31. 6 Mazdāi : auuāt xšaṭrem, hīṇāt hōi vohū vaxšāt manahgā, ‘for Mazdā, that (becomes) dominion, what(ever) he increases for him through good thought’; 47. 3 at hōi vāstrāi : rāmā dā ārmaitīm, ‘while for her pasture thou didst establish peace and piety’; YH 35. 4 gauwōi ad.āiś : tāīś śīiaobēnāś yāś vahīštāś fraēśiūā-mahī rāmācā vāstrmacā dazdiīā, ‘for the cow hereby, with these actions that are the best, we urge establishing peace and pasture’.

Likewise by an initial genitive: 30. 5, quoted in §339; 32. 7 aēśam aē-nāŋahm : naēćiū viduwa aojōi, ‘of such offences, I declare I know nothing’ (with the negative initial in the second colon); 32. 8, quoted in §319.

And by an initial vocative: see §358.

332. As an illustration of how an elaborate sentence may be analysed into cola and commata using the placing of enclitics as clues, YH 35. 6 may be divided as follows:

\[1 \text{yadā āt} \text{ 2utā nā vā nārī vāl} \text{ vaēdā haiṭim} ;
\[2 \text{aētā hāt vohū} ;
\[3 \text{tātō ādū} : \text{ vareziōūcā īt ahmāī} ;
\[4 \text{fracā vātōiiōtū īt aēsbiō} ;
\[5 \text{yōi īt aēdā vareziśgā} ;
\[6 \text{yadā īt astī.}

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

333. From the foregoing pages a basic pattern emerges: in each colon containing several words there comes first (disregarding any introductory particles) a position of greater emphasis, occupied by a single word or closely cohesive word-group, then a trough of lesser emphasis and more flexible length, in which enclitic particles or pronouns tend to congregate. A longer colon may end either with a comparatively weak position or on an emphatic note.

What further principles can be established regarding the order of words within the colon? I begin by stating two general factors that may influence it independently of grammatical categories: the contextual force field, and the relative bulk of constituent elements.

The contextual force field

334. In 31. 9 and 46. 9 ‘the cow’s maker’ is gāuṣ taṣā, but in 29. 2 it is tasā gōuṣ. Why? Because in this last passage we have just heard the complaint of the cow’s soul (1 gāuṣ uruuā), and now comes a speech from the cow’s maker; the word gāuṣ is necessary to the phrase but requires less emphasis than when the cow was first introduced, and the order tasā gōuṣ evidently has this effect.

There are other cases where a word’s placing is affected by the fact that it has already appeared in the context:

In 30. 3 we have āsca huḍaḥhō ṛeṣ vī.śiitā, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly’, but in 30. 6 aiā niit ṛeṣ vī.śiitā daēuācīnā, ‘between them discriminate rightly not even the Daevas’, with the order of subject and verb reversed.

In 31. 14 we have tā ḏaṣā pereṣā, Ahūrā, ‘those things I ask thee, Lord’, but in the next stanza pereṣa aauaṭ, ‘I ask this’.
In 32. 10 we have huuō mā nā srauau mōrōndat, yē ..., ‘that man perverts good repute, who ...’, but in the next stanza taecit mā mōrōnden jiiōtium, yōi ..., ‘they pervert life, who ...’, with the order of object and verb reversed.

In the last line of 32. 11 we have yōi vahiştāt ašāmō ... rārašiiān maṇājho, ‘who will divert the righteous from best thought’, but then in the first line of 12 (a new sentence), yā rāṇhātien srauauañhā vahiştā śiaodné maratānō, ‘because of the (deed of) repute by which they divert mortals from best action’, again with the verb moved forward.

In 43. 4 we have aT qBA mVNghAi taxmvmcA spvNtvm, M azdA, ‘I will think thee bold and bounteous, Mazdā’, but in the next stanza (and subsequent repetitions) the order is varied to spvNtvm aT qBA, M azdA, mV?hI, A hurA, with ‘bounteous’ promoted to leading word and ‘I think thee’ relegated to the trough of lesser emphasis.

In 47. 1 we have spantā mainiiū, which is the usual order, but in the next stanza ahiitā mainiiou spēništahiīā, ‘of this most bounteous Will’

In YH 35. 2 the positive affirmation humatanq hūxtanq huarståtanq ... mahī aibī.jaratāro, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, we are they who approve’, is complemented by a denial of its opposite: naē naēstāro yadhōnā vohunq mahī, ‘we are not revilers of good things’, where naē naēstāro in initial position is juxtaposed with the final aibī.jaratāro, and the position of mahī in the phrase is varied.

In YH 39. 1 we have idā aT yazamaide, ‘in this fashion we worship’ (as in 37. 1, cf. 38. 3), but in 39. 3 aT idā yazamaide.

335. The structure just discussed approximates to a chiasmus, the figure in which parallel elements face each other in inverse order as in a mirror, AB:BA.5 There are several clear examples in the Gāthās, especially where there is a contrast between good and bad: 29. 9 yō anaes̱am xšāmōnē rādem, vāc̱m naraś asirāhiīā, ‘that I should put up with an ineffective carer, the voice of a powerless man’ (adjective: noun: noun: noun: adjective); 30. 4 aciśtō drogutātam, aT aśāmē vahiśtm manō, ‘the worst (existence) that of the wrongful, but for the righteous, best thought’; 30. 5 vēratā yō droguā aciśtā voreziīō, aśam mainiūs spēništō, ‘the Wrongful (Will) chooses the worst things to do, but Right (is what) the Bounteous Will (chooses)’; 30. 7 aT kehrp̄om utaiūtīṭ dadāt, ārmaitiś ḷ̣nmā, ‘the body vitality informs, piety the soul’; 31. 1 yōi uruwa-taīś Drūjō Aṣahīīa gaēbdā vimērancaitē, ‘who with the rules of Wrong Right’s people destroy’; 31. 10 aT hi aiiā frauaraatā vāstrīm ... nōit, Mazdā, auvāstrīō ... humerōtiś baxṭā, ‘but she of these two chose the herdsman ... the non-herdsman, Mazdā, did not get (her) good regard’; 31. 12 mītah.uuacā vā eroś.uuacā vā, vīduuā vā sūuiduuā vā, ‘one of false words or of straight words, a knowing one or an unknowing one’; 33. 6 mainiūs ā vahiśta kaiīā ahmāt, auvā manañja, ‘from this best will I desire, with that mind’ (with the demonstratives

5 Cf. Humbach i. 109; Skjærvø 171.
last in the first phrase, first in the second); 43. 8 haiūiō duuaēsā … dreguuaītē, at aśāunē raśnō xiiēm aojōhhuuāt, ‘may I be a real foe to the wrongful one, but to the righteous a strong support’; 47. 4 aśāunē kādō … akō dreguuaītē, ‘to the righteous one, kind … malign to the wrongful’; 49. 3 aśom sūiddīiāi … rā-śaiejēhē druxš, ‘Right to strengthen (us), to harm (him) Wrong’; 51. 6 vahiūiō vaḥhōuś … akāt aśiiō, ‘better than good … worse than bad’.

Relative bulk

336. There is a strong tendency in the Gāthās for words of three or more syllables to be placed at the end of a verse or half-verse. This is probably connected with the general trend in Indo-European languages to put shorter elements before long ones rather than after them (Behaghel’s Law). The phenomenon can be illustrated from many coupleings or longer strings of parallel nouns or verbs in the Old Avestan texts: 31. 21 (et al.) hauruutō amaro<ta>tūtascā; 32. 3 drūjascā pairimatōiścā; 32. 5 hujiitūiś amaro<ta>tūtascā; 33. 6 darštōiścā hōṃparstoīścā; 45. 10, 51. 7 teuāuūi utaiutū; YH 38. 2 ižā yaoaštāiō foraštaiō ārmataiō (originally 2, 3, 3 and 5 syllables); ibid., vaṭyīhīm … aśm, vaṭyīhīm iśam, vaṭyīhīm āṣuīṭīm, vaṭyīhīm frasastīm, vaṭyīhīm pareṇdīm; 38. 4 tāiś v yazamādīd, tāiś friiṇmāhī, tāiś nomaaxiīmāhī, tāiś iṣūdiīmāhī, cf. 39. 4. See further §394.

337. This principle may explain why, for instance, in 30. 8 (aṭcā yadā aēśam) kaēnā jamaïtī āēnayḥaṃ (the ending originally disyllabic, *-aHām) is preferred to aēnayḥaṃ jamaïtī kaēnā (likewise with distraction, cf. §322) or kaēnā aēnayḥaṃ jamaïtī. There are many other places, especially in dependent clauses, where a verb stands in penultimate position before a longer noun that could equally have been put before it. In many cases the distraction principle is also relevant.

Examples in dependent clauses: 28. 2 yāiś rapontō daidīt xvābē (trisyllabic), ‘by which one could keep one’s supporters in well-being’; 29. 3 yahmāi zauānīg jīma karadusā, ‘to whose calls I will come short-eared(? )’ (cf. §329); 29. 5 hīaht Mazdām duuaidī frasabīiō, ‘as we put Mazdā to our questions’; 29. 8 hīaht hōi hudemām diiāi vaxeōrāhīiā, ‘as I harness his good-construction of utterance’; 31. 1 yōi zrazdā aŋhōn Mazdāī (trisyllabic), ‘who will be trustful in Mazdā’; 31. 6 yō mōi viduāv vaocat haiūiō (trisyllabic), ‘who knowingly speaks my truth’; ibid., hīaht hōi vohū vaxeō manaŋhā, ‘what he increases for him through good thought’, cf. 33. 8, 9; 34. 3; hīaht astuvaŋtem dadā uṣtām, ‘since thou gavest bodily vitality’; 32. 10 yascā vadarē voiždaṭ aśāunē, ‘and he who raises his weapon against the righteous one’; 33. 6 yā verezieidēiīā maŋtā vāstriē (trisyllabic), ‘by which one takes it in mind to do pastoral works’; 43. 4 hīaht mōi vaḥhōuś hazō jimaŋ manaŋhō, ‘when the force of good thought comes to

6 Wackernagel (1955–79), iii. 1868 (from 1892); O. Behaghel, IF 25 (1909), 110–42; for Avestan, W. Krause, ZVS 50 (1922), 90 f., 112–17.
me’; 45. 5 hiiať möi mraot spanťotemô, ‘what the most bounteous one tells me’; 46. 8 yô và möi yâ gëdë dazdë aëňaňhë, ‘or he who is putting my flock to maltreatment’.

In main clauses: 31. 18 aďâ iš sâzȳm snaïbîšâ, ‘so cut them down with the axe’; 43. 1 Mazdâ dâiiať Ahurô, ‘may Mazdâ the Lord grant’; 44. 9 kaďâ möi … hudânaas paitûš saxiiať xâdrâhiiať, ‘how might the master of a beneficent dominion proclaim’; 44. 11, 14.

Subject, verb, object

338. The default or unmarked order is subject, object, verb (SOV). The verb in any case often stands at the end of the sentence, see §344.

A pronominal subject such as yô or huuô precedes the verb or nominal predicate. Exception: 51. 21, on which see §345. (32. 9 is not an exception: §130.)

If the object precedes the subject, it is usually because it is represented by an anaphoric pronoun (demonstrative, relative, or enclitic) that has to be first or second word.

339. The ‘normal’ order may be disturbed by various factors, such as fronting of the verb or object for emphasis or to define the topic.

Fronted verb: 29. 3 yâ šauuaiť âdrông orâšuâxyhô, ‘he by whom the upright invigorate the weak’; 30. 6 yâ bañañën ahûm maratâno, ‘by which mortals blight the world’. In both cases the object precedes the subject (VOS), whether to keep it next to the verb or because the subject is the longer of the two nouns.

33. 8 dâťa vå amaratâscâ utaiiuiť hauruuatâs draonô, ‘continuing life was created as your portion, and health with vitality’; 43. 15 daxsât ušiiai tuš-nâmaitiiš vahištâ, ‘as for teaching (me things) things to say, silent meditation (teaches me) the best’; 53. 6 našat xâŏrom dreuguôdibii ôôićiš.arteaiûbiô, ‘lost is well-being for the wrongful diminishers of right’; 53. 7 vižaiiaťă magêm tôm, ‘you will abandon this ceremony, and …’ (equivalent to a conditional, §255).

29. 6 atô vaocat Ahurô Mazdâ, ‘then speaks the Lord Mazdâ’, varies the order in 1–2, where other speakers were introduced with the verb following the subject.7 So too in 30. 6 aiia nôiš orâš višiîtâ daevuâcînâ and 31. 15 and 16 peresâ awuat the order is affected by earlier stanzas, see §334.

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

Further examples of initial verb: 30. 4 aťcâ hiiať tâ hôm mainiûj jasaêtom paouuuûm, dazdë gaëmcâ ajiiaûtîmcâ, ‘and once those two Wills join battle, (a man) adopts life or non-life’; 53. 7 vauuat âçuš zrazdîtô bûnôi haxtiia, ‘one will apply his penis in fullest confidence at the base of her thighs’; YH 38. 5 âwuâ

7  For the tendency for verbs of speaking to be placed early cf. Delbrück iii. 61 f., 65.
vā, vayṇhīś, rātoīś daragō. bāčauś, ‘I will assist you, Good Ones, with the long arm of my liberality’.

In 30. 5 aiiā mainiiumā : varetā vō droguuā aciśtā veresziiō, ‘of those two Wills the Wrongful one chooses to do the worst things’, the initial topicalizing genitive phrase may be treated as a separate comma (§331), so that the verb is initial in its colon.

340. Fronted object. As in 29. 3 and 30. 6 quoted above, verb and object usually retain adjacent places in the series, giving the order OVS: 28. 3 yaēbiīō xśaadremcā ayōaunuāmnām varedaitī ārmaitiś, ‘whose unimpaired dominion is increased by piety’; 32. 12 yaś grōhmā aśā varetā Karpā, ‘with whom the Karpan chooses gluttony(? ) over right’; 43. 6 aēbiīō ratūś sōnghaitī ārmaitiś ḍhā-hiiā xratuś, ‘to them Piety announces the verdicts of thy wisdom’; 44. 6 Ašam śīiaoṁnāśi dobeqzaiztī Ārmaitiś, ‘Piety by its actions confirms Right’.

In 34. 10 ahiīā Vayhōū Mananēhō śīiaoṁnā vaoaç ‘ gorāqm’ huxratuś, ‘this Good Thought’s actions, let them be seized, says the wise man’, it is the genitive phrase that is fronted, because it picks up the reference to Good Thought in the preceding stanza; its head noun śīiaoṁnā (accusative) is put with it to complete an undistracted object phrase.

In 31. 12 aibrā vācōm baraitī miḏah.uuacā vā ārās.uuacā vā, vūduuā vā āruidduuā vā, ‘there speaks forth one of false words or one of straight words, a knowing one or an unknowing one’, the predicate vācōm baraitī is fronted and topicalized as a unit, ‘as for whose voice it is that is heard, …’; also the lengthy subject phrases are more conveniently placed afterwards.

With subject intervening between object and verb (VSO): 31. 2 yaśā ratūm Ahurō vaēdā Mazdā aiiā ḍsaiīā, ‘according to the ruling that Lord Mazdā knows on those two lots’; 31. 11 yaibrā varanimōng vasā dāiīetē, ‘where the free agent makes his choices’.

Further remarks on verb placement

341. While verbs (except imperatives and equivalent forms, see §343) are not often found in initial position, they frequently occur in second place (after any enclitics). This is doubtless connected with the fact that in Vedic the verb in a main clause is unaccented unless initial (or in one or two other special circumstances) and evidently unemphatic. The inference is that the same applies in most cases to the Old Avestan verb.

Some examples of verb in second position: 28. 1 ahiīā vāśā namanēhū ustā-nazastō rafēdrāhiīā, ‘for his help I pray in reverence with outstretched hands’; 30. 10 aṭ aśiśtā voyantē ā huśitoiś vayhōūs mananēhō, ‘and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked from the fair dwelling of Good Thought’; 31. 4 vahīśtā īsasā

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8 But not usually as weakly emphasized as particles and pronouns, and accordingly not so regularly drawn to the second or ‘Wackernagel’ position; cf. Delbrück iii. 81 f.
III. Word Order

manahā maibiiō xsaðram aojōphuuat, ‘I shall seek by best thought a strong authority for myself’; 31. 6 ahmāii aŋhata vaḥiṣṭem, yā mōi ..., ‘it will go best for him who ...’; 31. 7 yas.tā mantā paouruiō raocōbiś rōiðbēn xādrā, ‘he who first conceived these amenities permeating the world of light’; YH 35. 3 tāt aț vaравmaidī, Ahurā Mazdā Așā srīrā, hiiat và mainimidacā vaocōimacā varezimacā, yā ..., ‘this we have chosen, Lord Mazdā with Right the comely, to think and speak and do those things that ...’.

342. Sometimes a verb that does not immediately appear to be in second position may be perceived as doing so when account is taken of commatization and/or the indivisibility of certain phrases so that they count in effect as one word.

So 29. 10 azēmcīt ahiīā Mazdā : ðbsaṃ mēṇhi paouruūm vaēdēm, ‘I for one, Mazdā, realize thee to be the prime procurer of it’ (the emphatic ðbsaṃ begins the colon); 32. 7 aēṣaṃ aēnajhām : naēcīt vīduuā aojoi, ‘of such offences, I declare I know nothing’ (with the negative initial in the second colon, and naēcīt vīduuāτ making a cohesive unit); 32. 8 aēṣaṃ aēnajhām : Vīuañhuśō srauui Yimascīt, ‘for such offences Vivahvant’s son became renowned, even Yīma’; ibid., aēṣaṃcīt : ā ahmi ðbaḥmī, Mazdā, viciōi aipi, ‘as to these (deeds), I rest on thy decision, Mazdā’ (the preverb a begins the colon); 47. 3 ahiīā mainitiūs : tūom ahī pēta spoṇtō, ‘of this will, thou [emphatic pronoun] art the bounteous father’; ibid., at hōi vāstrāi : rāmā da armaimāt, see §331.

YH 35. 2 begins with three resonant word-groupings, three commata if you will, but all making up a single extended eight-word genitive phrase that admits no intrusion, and then comes the verb: humataṃ hīxtaniṃ huuars-taniṃ : iidadacā aniidadacā : vērziiāmnananacā vūuexticanaancacā1 mahī aibijaretārō, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, here and not-here, present and past, we are they who approve’. In 35. 4, quoted in §331, iāiś śiiaoqvaśiś vāiś vahistāś1 may similarly be taken as a unit, and then the verb comes next in the colon.

343. Imperatives more often appear in initial position: 28. 6–7 Vohū gaidī Manahā, dādī Ašā dā daregaiiū ... dādī Ašā tām așīm ... dādī tu, Armaite ... dāstū, Mazdā ..., ‘come with Good Thought, give with Right thy enduring gift ... Give, O Right, that reward ... Give thou, Piety ... Give thou, Mazdā ...”; 30. 2 sraotā gōuśaśī vahistā, ā vaenatā sūcā manahahā, ‘hear with your ears the best message, behold with lucid mind’, cf. 33. 11; 31. 17 ziį nē, Mazdā Ahurā, vaŋhāuś fraidaxstā manahphō, ‘be for us, Lord Mazdā, our teacher of good thought’; 53. 8 īrātu ī duuasfō huūo đezrā marobiaś mazištō, ‘let there come upon them that greatest woe with the fetter of death’; YH 40. 3 dādī āt naras, ‘grant us men’.

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

And with optatives: 48. 9 vidiīat saośiias, yabā hōi așiš aŋhata, ‘may the Promoter know how his reward is to be’; YH 41. 4 hanaēmācā zaēmācā ...
That is the existence, ye wrongful, to which through your own actions your morality will bring you'; 31. 22 vōhū xšaβrā ašěm vacahā šīaodānācā hapṭī, 'with good command he holds on to Right in word and deed'; 32. 6 Ḩaβmī vō, Mazdā, xšaβrōi Ašāiecā sāŋghō viḍaṃ, 'in thy domain, Mazdā, let your decree and Right’s be given out'; 32. 9 tā uxōa mainiūoš māhiūa, Mazdā, Ašācā yušmaibīi gerezē, 'with these utterances of my will, Mazdā, I make complaint to you and to Right'; YH 35. 9 imā ā uxōa vaca, Ahurā Mazdā, ašěm manaiūa vahēhiūa frauuaocāmā; Ḩaβm āt ašaṃ paitīastāremcā fradaxstāremcā dadomaidē, 'these words that we speak, Lord Mazdā, we will proclaim with better thought of Right; we make Thee both their recipient and their teacher' (but the sentence is then extended with additional phrases).

In negative sentences, usually after initial nōiṭ: 31. 10 nōiṭ, Mazdā, aauastrīō dauuascinā humcroτoīīi baxstu, 'the non-herdsman, drive(?) her as he might, did not get her goodwill'; 46. 8 nōiṭ ahiūa mā ābriš šīaodūnāś frā astīāt, 'may harm not reach me from his actions'; YH 35. 2 naē naestārō yavōnā vohunām māhi, 'we are not revilers of what is good'.

In an interrogative sentence: 44. 6 kāēiūīō azūm rānīo.skēritim g anv taśo? 'for what people didst thou create the gladdening milch cow?' With imperative: 29. 11 at mam aša yūzēm, Mazdā, frēxšēno mazoī magaiūa paitūzānātā, 'it is me that ye should rightly acknowledge, Mazdā, in your providence, for the great rite'.

Frequently in dependent clauses: 28. 6 yō dābišuuatu dūuaēša tauru∪ūiāmā, 'whereby we may overcome the foe’s acts of enmity'; 29. 2 yō drguudōdēbīs aēšemēm viṭdūiiōt, 'who might repulse fury by the wrongful'; 29. 8 yō nō aēűō sānē gūṣṭā, 'who alone listens to our guidance'; 30. 5 yō xraoḏistiēng ašēnō vastē, 'who clothes himself in the hardest stones'; 30. 6 hiiat īš ā dbaomā parāmmēnē upājasat, 'because delusion comes over them as they deliberate'; 31. 3 yō juantaš vispōng vauriīā, 'whereby I might convince everyone alive'; 31. 11 yābra varonēn vasa dāietē, 'where the free agent makes his choices'; 31. 15 yō drguuūiēt xšaβrem hunūīt, '(for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one'; 33. 2 yō akam drguuūiēt vacahā v āt vā manaiūa zostoibīiā vā varaśaitī, 'he that either by word or thought or hands does evil to the wrongful one'.
Subject and predicate in nominal sentences

345. From the examples of nominal sentences given in §8 it will be seen that the subject generally precedes the predicate. I have noted two categories of exception:

1) Where the subject is represented by an unemphatic anaphoric pronoun:
31. 22 cićrā i hudāyahē, ‘clear are these things for the well-doer’; 32. 16 hamām taṭ vahīstācīt, ‘equal is that to the very best’.

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

Elements of both types appear in 51. 21 ārmatoīš nā, spaṇṭo huuō cistī, uxdāīš, šīaōdnā, ‘the man of piety, bounteous is he in insight, words, conduct’. The subject does come first, but the position of huuō indicates that it is left as a topicalizing heading, spaṇṭo huuō cistī constituting a new colon.

Secondary (predicative) accusative

346. Where there are two accusatives, one of which functions as a secondary predicate (cf. §§55, 324), this latter often precedes the direct object, as in 28. 5 gātūmca Ahurāi … sraošem Mazdāi, ‘and as a path (or throne) for the Mindful Lord (finding) compliance’; 28. 10 at vō xśmaibiiā asīnā vaēdā x’araibītīa vaintītā srauūā, ‘I know that well-purposed hymns of homage to you are not in vain’; 30. 9 yōi im fraśēm keraṇāun ahūm, ‘who will make this existence splendid’; 33. 14 at rāqHING Zaraṇuṣtrō tanuascīt x’axiiā uśtānem dadāītī, ‘as an offering Zarathushtra dedicates his own body’s energy’, cf. 34. 3; 43. 15 at tōī vispāṅg angrōng asīnō ādarē, ‘they have declared all the righteous their enemies’; 46. 19 yō mōi … haitūm … varasātītii … hiiat vāsṇa frašōtemem, ‘he who will make real for me the utmost splendour of my desiring’; ibid., ahmāi mīzādam hanaṇtē parāhūm, ‘to him, who as reward deserves the world beyond’; YH 36. 6 sraēšem at tōī kheṛpēm kheṛpēm āuuaēdatamahi … imā raocā, ‘as fairest body of thy bodies we proclaim this daylight’.

We find the opposite order, naturally, when the direct object is represented by an initial pronoun, as in 29. 10 quoted in §342; YH 35. 9 quoted in §344.

Datives

347. An indirect object in the dative tends to precede the direct object,9 as in 28. 6 Zarāuṣtrāi aojiṅhuuaṭ rāfēnō, ‘(give) to Zarathushtra strong support’; 31. 4 iśasā … maibiiō xśaḍrōm aojiṅhuuaṭ, ‘I shall seek a strong authority for

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9 Cf. Delbrück iii. 82 f.
myself'; 31. 9 ʰiiat axiiai dadā paːṭam, ‘when thou didst offer her a path’; 31. 15 yā ḍraguuaite xsaṭrom hunaiti, ‘who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 44. 4 kō vātā duaanmaibiiascā yoogoṭ āsū? ‘who yoked their swift pair for the wind and the clouds?’; 44. 14 kadā Aṣaṅ Drujāṃ diyaṃ zastaiiō? ‘how might I give Wrong into the hands of Right?’; 46. 7 kēm.nā, Mazdā, mausahaan pāiium dadā? ‘whom dost thou set, Lord, as protector for my kind?’; 46. 18 yā maaiiia yaoš, ahmīi ascī vahīšā maixaī īʃṭoiš … cōišam, ‘whoever (confers) weal on me, on him for my part I confer the best things in my power’; 49. 7 yā verezōnīi varpīm dāṭ frasasūm, ‘which will give the community a good re-
noun’; 49. 8 Frāшаostrā uruaːziştām Aṣahiiā dā sarēm, ‘to Frashaushtra grant that most joyous union with Right’.

348. Dative infinitives of purpose often precede the verb: 31. 3 taṭ nā, Mazdā, vīduuanoj vaocā, ‘tell us that, Mazdā, for (us) to know’, cf. 31. 5; 34. 12; 31. 19 prə́zuxōai vacaghām xSaiammō hizuud vasō, ‘being for true voicing of words in command of his tongue as he will’; 33. 6 yā vərziietdiiāi mantā vāstrii, ‘by which one is minded to do pastoral works’; 46. 3 kaēbiitō ūbāi vohū jmīaṭ ma-
naphā? ‘what people will (Right) come to aid with good thought?’

Similarly with other datives of purpose: 46. 3 kadā … aḥhūs dārebrāi frō aṣhaṭiia ārəntē? ‘when will they set forth on the path of Right to uphold the world?’; ibid., maaiiitō ūba sasrāi vəronē, ‘for myself I choose thee for direc-
tion’; 47. 3 aṭ hōi vāstrāi rāmā dā ārmaitiim, ‘and for her pasturing thou didst establish peace and piety’.

Attributive adjective10

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

The possessive adjectives ma-, ūba-, etc. usually precede the noun, and in their monosyllabic cases they always do so except at 31. 20 ṣīiaodanāiai xūaś.

350. In the only example in the texts of a numeral (syntactically adjectival), it precedes its noun: 44. 18 dasā aspā, ‘ten mares’. So does uba- ‘both’: YH 35. 3 al. uboitiia abuitiia, ‘for both existences’.

So does purœ- ‘many’: 32. 6 purœ uēnā ēnaxiśtā, ‘the many offences against peace’; 43. 15 purœ ḍraguuatō, ‘the many wrongful’; 47. 6 purœ iṣəntō, ‘(the) many proselytes’; 50. 2 purœuṣ huuarā piṣiasu, ‘the many who blas-
pheme(?) the sun’.

vīspa- ‘all’ precedes the noun in YH 36. 5, 37. 1, and half a dozen times in the Gāthās. On the other hand we find 31. 3 juuanti vīspōng, ‘all the living’; 34. 3 gae’dā vīspa, ‘all our living bodies’; 46. 19 māniiuistiai māṭ vīspaṣ, ‘with all spiritual acquisitions’; 51. 20 hazaoṣaghō vīspājho, ‘all ye of one mind’. In

10 Cf. Delbrück iii. 89–99; Hirt vii. 243 f.; Seiler 104–33.
expressions of time or eternity we have 43. 2 viṣpā aiiārē, ‘all days’; 28. 8, YH 40. 2, 41. 2 viṣpāi yauwē, ‘for all time’; but in 46. 11, 49. 8, 53. 1 and 4 yavoī viṣpāi(tā). The placing after the noun probably had a more emphatic effect. Cf. 31. 13 and 53. 8 quoted in §319.

351. Defining adjectives, for example those that distinguish good from bad thought or action, generally precede the noun. So regularly vohū (…) manajhā, vajhōu (…) manajhō, spoṇṭā mainiūi. But the rule is not followed consistently, cf. 28. 2 mainiēuš … spoṇṭahiiā; 28. 3 manascā vohū; 30. 5, 7; 33. 14; 34. 2; 47. 2; 49. 10; 51. 4; 53. 4.

paouruiiā – in the sense ‘the original’ regularly follows its noun: 28. 11 aḫ- huš paouruiiō, ‘the first existence’, cf. 33. 1; 48. 6; 46. 6 daēnā paouruiiā, ‘the original moralities’; 46. 15 dāṭāis paouruiiāiś, ‘by the original ordinances’.

352. Where a defining adjective comes after its noun, it has in most cases more syllables than the noun. (This is true of aḫhuš paouruiiō and dāṭāis paouruiiāiś, but not of daēnā paouruiiā, which at the time of composition was *dayanāh parviyāh.) Examples: 29. 9 naraś asūrāhiiā, ‘of a powerless man’; 33. 1 šiiaodnā (disyllabic) ražištā, ‘by action most just’; 43. 5 dāmoiš uruaaesē (disyllabic) apēmē, ‘at the last bend of creation’; 44. 2 aḫhōuš vaḥištahiiā, ‘of the best existence’; 44. 15 spādā anacatājha, ‘the two hostile armies’.

In 43. 3 ahiiā aḫhuš astuuatō, ‘of this material existence’ and 47. 2 ahiiā mainiūuš spēništahiiā, ‘of this most bounteous Will’, while here too the adjectives are longer than the nouns, the order may be affected by the initial demonstrative, which makes the adjective less essential: ‘this existence, the material one’; ‘this Will, the bounteous one’.

353. Adjectives that are not essential to the definition of the noun but merely honorific or ornamental generally go after the noun; again they are very often longer.

In seven places (32. 2; 33. 13; 34. 9, 10; 49. 2; 51. 4, 11) we find spoṇṭam ārmaitiś or spoṇṭā ārmaitiś, ‘bounteous piety’, where the epithet is honorific and inessential but precedes presumably by analogy with spoṇṭā mainiūi. The longer word follows the shorter (ārmaitiś had four syllables, *aramatis).

Other examples of epithet preceding: 31. 21 burois ā … xāpāiūtāi, ‘from his rich autonomy’; 32. 6 hātāmarānē Ahurā, ‘O Lord mindful of merits’; 34. 9 aurunā xrafstrā, ‘the savage predators’; 43. 1 vasē.xsaiś Mazdā, ‘Mazdā who rules at will’; 44. 6 azim raniīō.skoretım gam, ‘the gladdening milch cow’, cf. 50. 2;45. 4 viṣpāhiśas Ahurō, ‘the all-observant Lord’; 49. 9 aṣā yuxtā … Dējā-māspā, ‘the DjāmAspas yoked to Right’.

11 Were these passages perhaps secondary to 47. 3, where we find gam raniīō.skoretım in the expected sequence?
Dependent genitive\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{354.} The tendency for objects to precede verbs and for defining adjectives to precede nouns reflects a general principle that essential modifiers precede the modified element. On the same principle one would expect adnominal genitives generally to precede their head noun. This does indeed appear to be the underlying norm, though there is much variability, especially in the \textit{Gāthās}.

In \textit{YH} genitives mostly precede the head noun. Examples: 35. 7 \textit{Ahurahiīā} ... \textit{Mazdā yasñemcā vaḥmencā} ... gōušcā vāstrəm; 35. 8 \textit{Ašaḥiīā āaṭ saīrī, Ašaḥiīā vəreznə}; 36. 2 \textit{uruužīstahiiā uruužīžiiā, nəmīştahiiā nəməŋhā}; 36. 3 nāmənəm vəziştəm; 37. 2 yəsənənəm pəruruatātə; 37. 3 aʃənənəm frauašiš; 39. 1 gōuš urwuənənemcā tasənəməcā; 39. 5 vaŋhōuš x'aētōuš x'aētātə; 41. 2 ĥātəm hudəstəmā. This may be considered the ‘natural’, unmarked or default position. Cf. the observation on gōuš \textit{tasā} in §334.

A second genitive depending on the same noun may be added after it, as in 40. 2 \textit{tauuacā haxomə Ašaṭiiəcā}, ‘association with thee and Right’. Compare the examples in §94 of a possessive adjective and genitive in parallel, and §323.

The passages where a single genitive follows its head noun are: 35. 2 naē naĕstărō ... vəhunəm, for which see §334; 35. 8 kəməicīt ħātəm, ‘for anyone in the world’; 36. 2 (cf. 3) ātara Mazdā \textit{Ahurahiīā}, ‘Fire of Lord Mazdā’, where the Fire has already been brought into focus in 1 and it is not a new one that is being specified; ibid., məzištii vəyəhm, ‘for our greatest of supplications’; 36. 6 sraēştəm ať tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm ... bareziştəm barezimanəm, ‘fairest body of thy bodies, highest of the high’.

\textbf{355.} In the \textit{Gāthās}, as may be seen from the numerous quotations in §§93–104, adnominal genitives of all kinds occur both before and after their heads. They are sometimes separated from them by one or more other words; examples were listed in §322.

Other adnominals

\textbf{356.} In accord with the same principle, nouns in other cases that modify a head noun or adjective also tend to precede it.

Instrumental: 29. 2 \textit{drəguədəbiš aəšəməm}, ‘violence by the wrongful’; 43. 16 \textit{Aʃam} ... uʃtənə aojəŋhuət, ‘Right, strong in vigour’; 47. 2 ārmatōiš zəstōi-bišii śiiaəoŋnə, ‘by action of piety with the hands’.

Ablative: 31. 15 \textit{vəstriiəti} ... pasəuš vəɾiiətəd adrujiəntō, ‘of the herdsman innocent before man and beast’.

Locative: 43. 11 \textit{maʃiiəsə} zəraədiši, ‘trust in mortals’.

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

357. Vocatives in Vedic behave to some extent like verbs, in that they are accented only when they stand in initial position. In Avestan too it may be supposed that in non-initial positions they are relatively unemphatic. They often occur in second position, which we have already identified as a slot for unemphatic elements. They follow any enclitic particles or pronouns that may be present. It is not really appropriate to comma the vocative off, as it is clearly part of the larger tonal unit.

Examples: 28. 2 yā vā Mazdā Ahūrā pairījasāi vohū mananēhā, ‘I who will approach you, Lord Mazdā, with good thought’; 28. 6–7, quoted in §343; 28. 8 vahištām ōṣā vahištā ... yāsā, ‘for the best gift, O best one, I pray thee’; 28. 11 tuuōm Mazdā Ahūrā frō mā sīsā, ‘do thou, Lord Mazdā, teach me’; 29. 10 yūzēm aēibiō Ahūrā aogō dātā, ‘grant ye them, Lord, strength’; ibid., azōmci ōhiī Mazdā ōṣam mōjī paouruūīm vaēdēm, ‘I for one, Mazdā, realize thee to be the prime procurer of it’; 31. 3 taṭ nō Mazdā viduuanōī vaocā, ‘tell us that, Mazdā, for our knowledge’; 31. 7 tā Mazdā mainīiū uxšiiō, ‘through that will, Mazdā, thou dost increase’; 31. 11 hiiat nō Mazdā paouruūīm gaēōdcā tašō daēnāscā, ‘since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves’; 34. 14 taṭ zī Mazdā vairīm astuwaitē uštānī dātā, ‘for this, Mazdā, is the prize you have set for material life’; 44. 3 tācī Mazdā vasmī aniīcā viduiiē, ‘these things, Mazdā, and others I desire to know’; YH 39. 4 yaḏā tū ī Ahūrā Mazdā mōŋhacā vaocascā dāscā varaścā yā vohū, ‘as thou, Lord Mazdā, dost conceive and utter and institute and do those things that are good’.

358. The initial (accented) position is especially appropriate when someone not hitherto addressed is hailed: 28. 5 Ašū, kat ōṣā darasānī? ‘O Right, shall I see thee?’; 46. 14 Zarathuṣṭrā, kas.tē aśaunā uruīādō? ‘Zarathushtra, which righteous one is thy ally?’ Other cases: 34. 15 Mazdā, aṭ mōī vahištā srauvăscā šiāo-

359. Sometimes the vocative is placed at the juncture between a dependent clause and the main clause: 28. 10 aṭ yōng Ašāṭcā vōistā vaŋhōuścā dādēng ma-
Order of Words within Cola

nayhō arabdāng, Mazdā Ahurā, aēibiō pērānā āparānāis kāmam, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright and worthy before Right and Good Thought, Lord Mazdā, fulfil their desire with attainment’; 30. 1 ʾat tā vaxšiō, išunto, yā mazdābā hīaṭeẓū viduṣē, ‘now I will speak, O proselytes, of what you are to bring to the attention even of one who knows’; 31. 9 ṯbā ā gēūs taṣā as xratuṣ mainiōuṣ, Mazdā Ahurā, hīaṭ ašxiō dādā paṭam, ‘thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will, Lord Mazdā, when thou didst offer her a path’; YH 40. 1–2 hīaṭ mīzdam mauwuioṭim fradaṭgā daēnābiō, Mazdā Ahurā, ahiī āhuu nō dāidī, ‘the [unintel-ligible epithet] reward which thou hast proposed for moral selves, Lord Mazdā, grant us of it’.

With apodotic ʾat (§277): 30. 8 aṭcā āešān kaṇēn jamaiī āeṇaṇhaṃ, ʾat Mazdā tauhiō xṣadroman ... vūtuaidātē, ‘and when the requital comes for their misdeeds, then, Mazdā, for thee will be found dominion’. The sentence continues aēibiō sastē, Ahurā, yōī ..., ‘to proclaim to those, Lord, who ...’, with the further vocative between main and relative clause.

360. In YH a vocative, like a verb, sometimes ends the sentence: 38. 5 aposcā vā aṣiščā vā māterasčā vā agonītā drigudaiāŋhō visprioriāšū āuacāmā vahištā sraeštā, aunu vā vanyiśiś rātōiś dāregeō hīaṭuš nāsū paiti vīaḍa paiti共享, mātaro ʾitatō, ‘as the Waters, as the Milch Cows, as the Mothers, choice cows, caring for the needy, giving to all to drink, we will invoke you, O best ones, fairest ones. I will assist you, O Good Ones, with the long arm of my liberality at your arrivings, O distributors, personable ones, mothers full of life.’; 39. 4 (continuation of quotation in §357) aḏā tōī daddomāhī, aḏā cismahī, aḏā ṯbā āiś yazamaiṭē, aḏā namaxiāmāhī, aḏā iṣiūdiāmāhī ṯbā Mazdā Ahurāhī, ‘so we dedicate (them) to thee, so we assign, so hereby we worship thee, so we reverence, so we give thanks to thee, Lord Mazdā’; 41. 2, 3, 4.

Where both a verb and a vocative come at sentence-end, the verb precedes: 35. 3 quoted in §341; 36. 1 ahiī ṯbā ādrō veracōnā paoureuiiḥ pai-rijašāmaidē Mazdā Ahurāhī, ‘with this Fire’s community firstly we attend thee, Lord Mazdāhī; and so in the first sentence in 38. 5 quoted above.

Subsidiary modifiers

361. Words or phrases that amplify the meaning without being essential to it are put in a trough between more emphatic elements, or appended after the main proposition is sufficiently formulated (cf. §§362–7).

Examples: 28. 1 ahiī yāsā nayhān āustānažāstō rafedrahiiā, ‘for his help I pray in reverence with outstretched hands’; 29. 7 tōm ʾatūṭīṣ Ahurō maṭrom taṣaṭ Aṣā hazaosō, ‘that is the butter prescript that the Lord made, of one mind with Right’ (with further appendages in the next line); YH 35. 3 ʾat aṭ varomaidī ... hīaṭ i mainimadi ... yā hāṭam ʾshaioṭoṇanām vahištā xīiṭh ubōibhia ahū-biā, ‘we have chosen to think those things that may be the best actions in the world, for both existences’, cf. 35. 8; 35. 5 ḥuxsādroṭiaṃā bā ʾat xṣadroman, ahmat hīaṭ aībi, dadomahicā cismahicā, ‘for the best ruler, rule (so far as lies with us) we dedicate and assign’ (between object and verbs); 35. 7 ʾat aṭ vō vareziāmāhī
III. Word Order

**362.** It is very common for a sentence that is potentially complete in grammar and sense to be prolonged by adding further elements at the end. They may be modifiers of the sort described in §361, for example instrumental or locative phrases, or datives or infinitives expressing purpose. Such additions as these modify or amplify the predicate as a whole. In other cases a particular word in the first clause, usually a noun, is picked up and developed by a further noun or nouns in the same case, or by one or more epithets, or a relative clause.

For example, in 28. 9 the first verse is potentially self-sufficient: anāś vā nōīti, Ahurā, Ašmācā yāmāś zaranaēmā, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you, Lord, or Right’. But in the next line the sentence is extended firstly by a further accusative, Manāscā hiiēt vahiśtam, ‘and Best Thought’, and secondly by a relative clause attaching to the subject, yōī vā yōīēmā dasēmē stūtam, ‘we who are busily offering your praises’. In 33. 4, again, after a self-sufficient first line yā ḍhāt, Mazdā, asruśtṃ akōmācā manō yazā apā, ‘I that by worship will seek to keep from thee disregard and bad thought’, additional objects are appended, and then a phrase with a new ablative as well: x̣aētāuscā tarēmatīlm vēreșōnā-xīiīcā nazdištām drujam, airiiamnāscā nadōntō, gōścā vāstrāc aciśtam maṇṭūm, ‘and the clan’s arrogance, and the village’s closest neighbour, Wrong, and the detractors in the tribe, and from the cow’s pasture the worst counsellor’. For the addition of further objects cf. also 28. 3; 29. 7; 33. 14; 34. 10; YH 37. 1, 5.

**363.** Amplification of the subject is also common, as in 29. 5 at vā ustānāīś ā huuā zastāīś frīnomnā Ahurāiiā, mō uruūā gōścā azīīā, ‘but we two are here with outstretched hands propitiating the Lord, my soul and the milch cow’s’; 32. 3 at yūś daēūuā vispājho akāt maṇaṣṭō stā ciērōm, ‘but ye Daevas are all seed from Bad Thought’, yascā vā maś yazāitē, ‘and (so is) the grandee who worships you’; then additional ablatives, drūjāscā pairimātōścā, ‘and from Wrong and Contempt’; then another nominative, šīaoṃṃ mō pīpī daibītānā, ‘your duplicitous deeds too’; 43. 3 at huuō vāŋhūuš vahiīō nā aibījamīīā, yā nā aezūś savauhō pađo sīśōī ... ardrō ḍhāsūus huzāntūspontō, Mazdā, ‘but may that man attain yet better than the good, who should teach us the straight paths of advancement ... a zealous follower of thine, well-born, bounteous, Mazdā’, cf. 44. 9; 46. 5; 49. 4, 5; 50. 2; 53. 4 yā fađrōī viđāt paṭīīaēcā vāṣtrīaēbiīō atcā x̣aētaumē, aṣāunī aṣauuabiiō, ‘with which (a woman) may serve her father and husband, herdsmen, and clan too, a righteous one (serving) the righteous’.

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364. Similarly with other cases.

Instrumental: 46. 8 paitiiaoget tā ahmāi jasōīt duuaēšajhā tanuēm ā ... kācīt, Mazdā, duuaēšajhā, ‘may they recoil on him with hostility, on his person ... with whatever (brand of) hostility’; 49. 5; 50. 9.

Dative: 49. 8 Frausahaan uruuāizistqam Ašahiīa dā saran ... maibīācā, ‘to Fra-shaushtra grant that most joyous union with Right, and to me’ (and then comes a relative clause referring to saran); 28. 7; 53. 5.

Ablative: 32. 3 quoted in §363; 33. 4 quoted in §362; 46. 4.yas.tēm xśaārāt, Mazdā, mōīuat jīiātū cā, ‘he who dispatches him from authority, Mazdā, or from life’.

365. Sometimes the appendage is an apposition serving to add definition to the initial term: 28. 7 daidī, Ašā, tēm aṣīm, vajhāu aāiaptā mananāhō, ‘give, O Right, that reward, the blessings of good thought’; 31. 15 perasā aauaṭ, yā maē-nīṣ, yē drēguāitē xśārēm hunāitī, dušśιiaōdanāī, Ahura, yē ... , ‘I ask this, what the punishment is (for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one, for the evil-doer who ... ’; 46. 3 kadā, Mazdā, yōī uxšānō asnaṃ ... frō ašahiīā ārentē vezrdāāī sōnghāāī, saośιiantqm xratauuuı̆? ‘when, Mazdā, will those Oxen of Days set forth on the path of Right with stouter declarations, the Promoters’ sapiences?’; 44. 17 kadā zaram carānī hacā xśmaṭ, āskaīīm xśmākam? ‘how am I to journey towards my goal in accord with you, (namely) attachment to you?’; 44. 16 at hōī vohū sraošō jaṇtū mananāhā, Mazdā, ahmāi yahmāi vāśī kah-māīcīt, ‘and let compliance come to him with good thought, Mazdā, to him whomsoever thou wilt’.

366. Extension by apposition of epithets: 34. 4 at tōī ātrōm ... aojōŋhuuāntem Ašā usōmaḥī, aṣīšūm, omanuāntem, ‘we wish for thy fire that is mighty through Right, very potent, strong’; 48. 11 kadā ... Ašā maṭ Ármaitiś jimaṭ xśaārā, hūṣaṣṭiī vāstrauuuī? ‘when will Piety together with Right come in dominion, she of good living, the pastoral one?’; 53. 9 tōī narapiś ariēśi, aēśāṣa dējīt.aratā, paśō.tanuuō, ‘they are waning and darkness(?), eager Right-diminishers, forfeit of body’; YH 38. 3 apō at yazamaīdē, maēkaiianțīsčā hōbuuańtīsčā, ‘the Waters we worship, sparkling and sappy’.

367. This additive technique is typical of the Gāthās. It may be illustrated from the ramifying opening of the first poem, 28. 1–3:

ahīā yāsā namāghā ustānāzastō rafādrāahīā,
Mainīiēu, Mazdā, paouruūîm Spēntahīīā aśā, viṣpēng, šīiaoθnā,
Vajhāu xratum Mananāhō yā xśνuuiśā gūuścā uruuiānem,
yē vā, Mazdā Ahuṛā, paiρī.jasōīt vohū mananāhā,
maibīō dāuuōī ahuuā, astuuatascā hiaćcā mananāhō,
aāiaptā aśāt hacā, yāś raperōtō daiītū xāḍērē;
yē vā Aśā uśiīānī Manascā Vohū apaouruūîm
Mazdāṃcā Ahuṛem, yaeibīō xśaāramcā ayeaonuuānnem
varedaitī Ármaitiś: ā môī rafādrāī zauuēng jasātā.
The first line is syntactically self-sufficient: ‘I pray in reverence with outstretched hands for his help’. Then ‘his’ is given definition by adding Mainiiwš ... Spentahiiw, ‘the Bounteous Will’s’, this genitive phrase being distracted by the insertion of the vocative Mazdā and the adverb paourwūm, ‘in first place’. Then are appended successively the instrumental ašā, ‘with Right’, an accusative vispāng to be construed with yāsā, ‘(I pray) all (of you)’, and another instrumental, šiaodnā, which must be construed adnominally with rafvDrahiiw, ‘(help) through an action’. The nature of the action is then specified by means of a relative clause, of which šiaodnā is the head, Vanhēus xratūm Manahō yā xśnauwīw, ‘by which thou wouldst satisfy Good Thought’s wisdom’, and that is extended with an additional object, gūśca uruwaṃw, ‘and the cow’s soul’.

The sentence is not yet complete, for stanzas 2–3 largely consist of two further, parallel relative clauses, attaching to the ‘I’ of the opening line. First yā và Mazdā Ahurā, pairījasā vohū manahā, ‘I who will approach you, Lord Mazdā, with good thought’. This is extended by a substantial infinitival purpose clause, which issues in a further relative clause: ‘(for you) to give me of both existences, the material one and that of thought, those blessings in line with Right by which one could keep one’s supporters in well-beings’. Then in the third stanza comes the second ‘I who’ clause. Its nucleus, yā và Ašā ufiwīni, ‘I who will hymn you, Right’, is extended successively by Manascā Vohū ‘and Good Thought’, apaourwūm ‘as never before’, Mazdammēcē Ahurām ‘and Lord Mazdā’, and then comes another relative clause referring to these powers, ‘whose unimpaired dominion Piety increases’. Finally the whole elaborate structure is summed up and rounded off by a compact new sentence: ‘come ye to my calls to give help’.

**Interlacing.**

368. A feature of word order that distinguishes the verse Gāthās from the prose of YH is the extent to which words that belong closely together grammatically are separated, sometimes by a considerable distance. The manifestations of this that we have met in the sections on distraction (§§320–5) and extension (§§362–7) are more or less intelligible. The distribution of emphasis achieved by distraction of a noun phrase (noun + epithet, or noun + genitive) will not seem strange to anyone familiar with Greek or Latin poetry; in the first few lines of the Iliad we have μῆνιν ἀείδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω ᾽Αχιλῆος ... ἢ μυρί’ Ἄχαιοις ἄλγε’ ἔθηκεν ... Διὸς δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βουλή, and in those of the Aeneid Troiae qui primus ab oris, saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram, and so on. ‘Extension’ served us as a rubric covering passages where a clause is followed by a continuation that in many cases takes up a word that comes early in it, while the integrity of the initial clause remains intact.

15  Cf. Humbach i. 108 f.
There remain some passages, however, where words are interlaced in ways not easily accounted for. In the following examples the related words that might be expected to stand together are picked out by $a$—$a$, $b$—$b$, etc.

28. yē uruuānem $a$mēn gairē $b$vohū $a$dadē $b$haṭrā $b$manējha, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought’.

31. yē noīt $b$jiitūm $b$hanarō $b$vinastī | $b$vaśtriiehiia $a$ēnaŋhō pasēuš vīrātca $b$adrujiianṭō, ‘who does not find a livelihood without wrong to the herdsman innocent before man and beast’.

31. 21 Mazdā dadā $a$hauruuinō $a$meratataścā | $b$būroś $a$‘asāxiiicā $a$xapaiiiicā $a$xśātraiiicā $b$sarōi | vayhōuś vazuuaarō manājho, ‘the Lord Mazdā offers, for the union$^{16}$ of health and non-dying and right, from his rich autonomy of domain, the permanence of good thought’.

32. 5 ‘aka $b$šīiaodnem $a$vačiicā yā $b$fracinas draguuanempt xšaiiō, ‘(and) by evil speech, with which he assigns the deed to the wrongful one to control’.

33. 1 yađā $a$iś, ibā $b$varāsiṭē, yā dātā anhōuś paouruuiehiia, | $b$ratuś, ‘as by those which were the statutes of the first existence, so the ruling will be implemented’.

33. 14 $a$t rātam Zarađuştro tanuuaściś xšaxiiicā $u$stānum | $b$dadaii, $a$paouruuātātem $b$manejaścā vayhōuś $b$Mazdāi | $a$šīiaodnaiiicā $b$Ažaiīică $a$uxšaxiiicā, $a$sraoścēm xśācmdicā, ‘as offering, Zarathushtra dedicates his own body’s energy to Mazdā and to Right, the prime of his good thought and deed and utterance, his compliance and authority’.

43. 15 $a$t ōi $v$ispāṅg $b$angrōg $a$šāuō $b$ādarō, ‘all the righteous they have declared their enemies’.

44. 17 ‘haddā vē stōi $b$vahmēng $a$sraoścē $b$radagō, ‘for there to be for you,$^{17}$ besides your compliance, praises of the caring one’.

46. 19 yē mōi $a$āṣā $b$haiti $b$hača $b$varāsiṭī, ‘he who in accord with right will make real for me’.

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$^{16}$ The dative sarōi is my emendation for sarō: West (2008), 131.

$^{17}$ On the text cf. p. 28 n. 26.
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369. In discussing word order we have touched on much that could be considered to fall within the province of stylistics. No clear boundary can be drawn. Style depends to a large extent, after all, on the ordered arrangement of words. For practical purposes, however, it was convenient to undertake a concentrated, separate treatment of word order. Now we may move on to other aspects of style as manifested in the Gāthās and YH.

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

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

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

YH is a formal text composed to be spoken by a priest before a congregation of worshippers and on their behalf, enunciating their convictions and aspirations. Its style is elevated, hieratic. Typical of it is the quasi-legal use of comprehensive polar expressions of the ‘both X and non-X’ type, to cover all eventualities, and of clusters of two or three near-synonyms to exclude any equivocation, as in 36. 4–5 pari·jasāmai·dē nemāxi·mahā īśūdi·mahā ḏā, ‘we attend thee, we revere thee, we thank thee’; 37. 3 aśa·nāṃ frau·aśi·ś nara·mcā nāri·mācā, ‘the fravashis of the righteous, both men and women’, cf. 39. 2, 3; 41. 2; 41. 1 stū·tō, garō, vahmōṅg Āhurrāi Mazdāi Aśāicā vahīsītāi da·do·mahicā ci·śmahicā ācā va·ādai·mahā, ‘praises, songs, laudations to Lord Mazdā and best Right we dedicate and assign and proclaim’; 41. 4 hana·mācā za·mācā, ‘may we earn and win’.

Economy of Expression

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

Verb omitted in the second clause: 30. 7 at kehrpēm utai·uṭiš da·dā, ārmaitiš qnmā, ‘then vitality informs the body, piety the soul’, cf. 33. 12; 31. 11 hīa·t astu·u·a·mēnt adā u·stana·m, hīa·t śita·o·nācā sān·gḥa·scā, ‘since thou gavest bodily vitality, since (thou gavest) actions and pronouncements’; 31. 14 yā isu·dō da·den·tē dā·trana·m haca aśā·nō yā·scā ... dreg·u·u·dabīō, ‘what requitals will be given of gifts from the righteous one and what (of gifts) from the wrongful’; 32. 1 a·tī·a·cā xeva·tu·ṣ yā·sa·t, ahiīa vore·zōnēn māt a·ri·i·a·mānā, ahiīa da·e·u·u·ā mahmā mānō, Āhurrāiti uruv·au·zmā Mazdā, ‘suppose for his the clan prays, for his the village with the tribe, for his the Daevas, in my fancy, for Lord Mazdā’s gladdening’; 32. 5 tā de·bo·na·o·tā maṣīm hu·ji·i·a·tōiō ... hīa·t vā akā ma·nā·na·hā yōṅg da·e·u·u·oŋ Akascā Ma·ni·tu·ṣ, ‘so you lure the mortal from good living, as the Evil Will does you who are Daevas, by evil thought’; 32. 9 du·sā·sātiš srua·u·ā mō·ren·da·t, huuo· jii·a·tu·ū sō·ngha·nāiū xra·tu·ū, ‘the false teacher perverts good repute, he (perverts) life’s reason with his pronouncements’; 34. 8 tāiš zī nā śi·twa·o·nāiš bi·i·antī ... hīa·t aś·a·o·jā nā·di·i·a·phēm, ‘for they intimidate us by those actions, as a strong man does a weaker one’; 34. 15 at mōi vahīsī ... va·o·cā, tā tū vohū ma·nā·hā, ‘tell me the best things, just those things do thou (tell) with Good Thought’; 43. 14 hīa·t nā fri·i·a·u· va·e·do·mōnō iṣu·u·a·dātī, ma·bi·iō, Mazdā, ‘what a man of means, possessing it himself, would offer a friend, (give) to me, Mazdā’; 44. 4 kas·nā de·re·tē zamcā adō na·bā·sca au·a·pa·sto·iū ... kō a·pō uru·a·rā·scā? ‘who held the earth from beneath and the heavens from falling down? Who the waters and plants?’; 47. 4 kas·ū·u·a·cīt nā a·ṣa·u·nē kā·dō an·hāt; iṣu·u·a·cīt hās para·oš

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3 Cf. Humbach i. 105 f.; Skjærvø 171 f.
akō draguūātē, ‘even the poor man may be kind to the righteous one; even the man of much means, malign towards the wrongful’; 50. 10 at vāsā vācā pariī āś śāitoñā, ‘whatever things I do and whatever (I have done) before’.

The place of the omitted verb may be taken by iḇā or aḇā. 32. 6 pourū aēnā ēnāxītā yāīs srauuahiiieitē, yezi táś aḇā, ‘the many offences against peace by which he seeks renown, if by those actions (he is doing) so’; 47. 4, quoted in §133.

371. Verb omitted in the first clause: 43. 1 uṣṭā ahmāi, yahmāi uṣṭā kahmāicīt, vasā.xšaijās Mazdā dāiāt Ahūrō, ‘his wishes to him, to whomsoever (he grants) wishes, may Lord Mazdā, ruling at will, grant’; 43. 8 hāiβiiō duuuāsā hīaṭ isūiiā draguūātē, at ašāunē raṇō xiiām aoiṇghuat, ‘may I be in reality, as I would wish, a bane to the wrongful one, but to the righteous a strong support’; 46. 1, quoted in §373; 46. 9 yā tōi Ašā, yā Ašā gōuš tašā mraot, ‘what Right (said) to thee, what the maker of the cow said to Right’; 46. 18 yā maibiiā yaoš, ahmāi ascīt vahīstā . . . coīsām, ‘whoever (confers) weal on me, on him for my part I confer the best’ (and then in 19 ahmāi . . . gāuuā aži, ‘on him (I confer) two milch cows’); 48. 6, quoted in §390; 51. 4 kuqrā drγwāitē, ‘may I be in reality, as I would wish, a bane to the wrongful one, but to the righteous a strong support’.

372. On the same principle, a noun may be understood from the clause preceding: 48. 8 kā tōi vajhōuš . . . xšātrahtītī ištīš? kā tōi ašoīś ōšaxiiā maibiiō, Ahūrā? kā ōboi, Ašā . . . ? ‘what (is) the potency of thy good dominion? What (that) of thy reward for me, Lord? What thy (potency), Right?’; 49. 12 kāt tōi ašā zbaijentē avanhō Zarauštrāi? kāt tōi vohu mananjḥā? ‘what hast thou of help for him who invokes thee with right, for Zarathushtra? What hast thou (for him who invokes thee) with good thought?’

373. Other places where a noun or pronoun is understood from the context: 28. 11 yō āīs aṣām ni-pāγhē manascā vohu yauuaētūtē, tuuēm, Mazdā Ahūrā, frō ma siśā ūbahmāj vaocahē maniiuus hacā, ūba ūaγhā, ‘thou who dost by them (= hymns) protect thy right and good thought for ever, teach me, Lord Mazdā, to voice (them) in line with thy will, through thy mouth’; 43. 3 ahiiā aŋhōuš astwuatō mananjhascā, ‘in this material existence and (that) of thought’; 46. 1 kām nemōi zām, kuhrā nemōi aiieni? pariī x’aētōuš airiāmnascā dadaifī, ‘what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge? They set (me) apart from clan and tribe’; 49. 2 tkaēsō drγwā daibitā ašāt rāraśō, ‘the wrongful teacher who deceitfully diverts (people) from right’. In 45. 1 nū īm vīspā, cihrō zī, mazdāγhōdūm, ‘now all take it to heart, for it is clear’, the masc. pronoun īm and adjective cihrō have no explicit reference, and we must perhaps understand mādram.

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

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

Pleonasm

375. Much rarer than economy of expression is the superfluous repetition of a word in a second clause, as in 30. 5 aiiā mainiūuā verētā yā dreguva acištā vareziiō, ašām mainiūus spānīštō, ‘of those two Wills, the wrongful one chooses the worst things to do, but the bounteous Will (chooses) Right’; 31. 9 ḫōōi as ārmaitiš, ḫōō a gēus tašā as xraťus mainiūuš, ‘thine was piety, thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will’; and the three passages quoted in §235.

In 33. 6 mainiūuus ā vahištāt kaijiā ahmāt, āuwa mananjāhā yā vareziiieidiiā mańtā vāsttrīiō, āū tōī iziīīa … darštōiścā ām̗.parštōiścā, ‘from this my best will I desire, with that mind by which one takes it in mind to do pastoral works, I long to see and confer with thee’, we have not only a second demonstrative pronoun as correlative where one has already been provided, but also a second main verb repeating the sense of the first.

In 43. 4 the conjunction hiiaT ‘when’ is repeated after the intervention of a relative clause has created excessive distance between the first one and the verb it governs: hiiaT tā zastā, yā tū haʃšī autā yā da aʃšī dreguvaite aʃšanaečiā …, hiiaT mōī vaŋhēuš hazā jimat mananjiō, ‘when by that hand in which thou holdest those rewards that thou didst set for the wrongful one and the righteous … ’when the force of good thought comes to me’.

Understatement (Litotes)

376. A particular effect may be achieved by using, instead of a forceful positive statement, a negation of its opposite, as in 46. 1 nōi̇ t mā xšnaus, yā varezōnā hācā, ‘the communities I consort with do not please me’, i.e. they displease me; more clearly so in 51. 12 nōi̇ t tā īm xšnaus vaepiō Kauuinō presētā zimō … hiiaT ahmi urũraośt aštō, ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing in the winter, that the emissary had barred his way at it’; 46. 6 nōi̇ t nā isəmnō, ‘a man not wanted’. Similarly perhaps (though the degree of positive
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emphasis is hard to gauge) 28. 10 asûnā ‘not vain’; 29. 3 Ašā, nōit sarajā, aduvaēšō gauuōī, ‘Right, no breacher of unity, unhospital to the cow’.

With double negative: 43. 12 at īt mōī nōit asruštā pairiiaoyjā, ‘thou givest me advice (that will be) not unheeded’.

Rhetorical Questions

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

In one place at least we find a ‘rhetorical question’ in the accepted sense of the term, that is, a question to which the answer is meant to be obvious: 44. 20 ciñanā, Mazdā, huxśabrā daēuuā āpjharā—at īt parasā—yōi pišteiñtī aeibiō kām, yāīš gām Karpā Usixścā āēsmai ādā, yācā Kauuāquanē urūdōiätā? ‘what, Mazdā, has the Daeva’s dominion been good—that is what I ask—they that blaspheme(?) for the sake of those with whom the Karpan and the Usij subject the cow to violence and (to all the ills) that the Kavi makes her lament to her soul?’

Parenthesis

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

Some of these insertions are very short, occupying less than a verse, as in: 44. 1 tat ūṣā parasā—sraś mōī vaocā, Ahurā— | nemayhō ā, ‘this I ask thee—tell me straight, Lord—out of reverence’; 44. 16 kē verebrām.jā ūṣā pōī sēnghā, yōi hentī— | ciōrā mōī dām—ahūm.biś? ‘who is the victorious one to protect with thy law (all) who exist—let me be given clarity—the world-healer?’; 44. 20, quoted in §377; 45. 1, quoted in §373; 48. 2 vaocā mōī ā—tuuēm viduūa, Ahurā— | para hītat mā yāmēng parādā jimeter, ‘tell me—thou (art) the knowing one, Lord—before the end of the course approaches me’; 48. 5 huxśabrā xšōntam—mā nō duśśabrā xšōnta— | vanhuiā cistōīs šiaobnaiś, ‘let good rulers rule—do not let bad rulers rule us—with enactments of good insight’; 49. 8
Frašaošťrāi ... Ašahīa dā | sarām—taṭ ḥĪbā, Mazdā, yāsā, Ahūrā— | maibīācā, 'to Frashaushtra grant union with Right—this I pray thee, Lord Mazdā—and to me'.

Others occupy a whole verse:

43. 11 hiiaṭ xšmā uxōāiš didatījē paouruēm | —sadrā mōī sās mašiiaēšū zrazdātītī— | taṭ vereziieitiā, hiiaṭ mōī mraotā vahištēm, 'as I am learning by your utterances primarily—trust in mortals reveals itself to me as grief—to do that which you tell me is best'.

44. 10 tām daēnām, yā hātām vahištā | —yā mōī gaeṭā Ašā frāduōṭ hacōmnā— | ārmatōiš uxōāiš šīiāōnā ẓraš daidīaṭ? 'that religion which is the best in existence—may it promote my flock in union with Right—do they with pious words and deeds conceive it aright?'

49. 9 sraotū sānsnā ḥōjūhiīō suiīē taṣtō | —nōiī ẓrašuucā sarām didās druguuātā— | hiiaṭ daēnā vahištē yūjōn mūzēdē ... Dājānāspā, 'let the cultivator hear the teachings, made as he is to be strong—the straight speaker does not preach union with the wrongful one—since they yoke their moral selves for the best reward, those Dājāmāspās'.

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

yeḥīiā sauūā išāntū ṛādāṇhō
yōi zī jūnā ṛīḥaracā buuanticā—
ameratītī aṣūmō uruuā āēśō
utaiiūtā, yā neraṣ śādṛā druguuātō;
tācā xṣādrā Mazdā dṃiś Ahūrō—
| tōm nō staotāś nmaṣṭūhō ā vīuuarašō
nū zī ṭī caśmaīni vi. ədaɾasəm.

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

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

43. 10 ᾁ tū mōī dāiš Ašām, hiiaṭ mā zoaΖōmō—
Ārmaitī hacimnō ḫī ā areṃ—
perasācā nā, yā tōi əhmā parṣṭā
(parštām zī ḥĪbā yadēnā taṭ əmuuāntṃ),
hiiaṭ ḥĪbā xṣaiiāς aēsəm diiāt əmuuāntəm.

Show me thou Right, that one I constantly invoke—in company with Piety I have started towards it—and ask us what thou hast to ask us (for the question asked by thee is like that of the ḫstrong), so that one might be enabled to make thee potent and strong.
For I will tell Thee, Mazdā— a man would be speaking to one who knows— that amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss for him who has embraced Right (happy that prophet who speaks to one who knows!)
(is) the atonement that thou didst set for the two parties through thy flaming fire, Mazdā.

**Figures**

**Conjunction of contrary terms**

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

In 29. 4 *yā zī vāhuorezoī pairī ciḏīt daēuuāiścā maśiīāścā yācā varašaitē ai̇pī ciḏīt*, ‘things that have been done in the past by Daevas and mortals and things that may be done in the future’, we have one merism inside another: ‘past and future’, = at any time ever, and ‘Daevas and mortals’, = anyone at all. Both are paralleled elsewhere: for past, (present,) future cf. the passages quoted in §156; for Daevas and mortals, 45. 11 *daēuuāṅg ... maśiīascā;* 48. 1 *daēuuāiścā maśiīāścā.*

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

381. A particular type of merism paralleled in Vedic, Greek, and elsewhere is that of ‘X and non-X’, where the prefix a(n) - effects the negation. There are several examples in the quasi-legal stipulations of YH: 35. 2 *iiadacā aniiadacā*, ‘here and elsewhere’; 36. 4 *srunuuatascā asrunuuatascā xšaiānantascā axšaiānantascā*, ‘hearers and non-hearers, rulers and non-rulers’. Cf. §11.

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4 The latter phrase corresponds to Vedic *devās ca mārtiyās ca* (RV 6. 15. 8), which still has the older, more comprehensive sense of ‘gods and mortals’. Cf. West (2007a), 100.

5 West (2007a), 101 f.

6 The oddly spelled *iiadā* is an artificial back-formation from *aniiadā* ‘elsewhere’ (< *aniiia-* ‘other’), as if it were formed with the negative *an-*. 
With nōiṭ: 31. 5 tācīṭ … yā nōiṭ vā anhaṭ anhāiṭi vā, ‘those things that will not be, or will be’.

382. In other passages opposed terms are linked with cā or vā to signify, not the totalities that they define, but critical alternatives: 30. 4 daśdē gaēmcā ajiāi-, ‘a man adopts life and (= or) non-life’; 30. 11 xāṭīcā ḳāiṭi, ‘through success and (= or) failure’; 31. 12 aḍrā vācōm baraiṭi miṭhāi uuacā vā orēs uuacā vā, vīduuā vā ṣuudduūā vā, ‘there speaks forth one of false words or one of straight words, a knowing one or an unknowing one’; 45. 9 yō nō usēn cōrāt spōṇcā aspōṇcā, ‘who makes at will (our) fortune and misfortune’; 46. 17 yō vī. cīnaoṭ dāṭhmcā adāṭhmcā, ‘who discriminates between the unjust and the just man’, cf. 46. 15; 48. 4 yō dāṭ manō vāhīō … aśiācā, ‘he who sets in place better thought or worse’.

383. A single term may be emphasized by adding the negation of its opposite: ‘X, not non-X’, or ‘X, not Y’.7 So 30. 3 áscā hūdājho eroš viśiṭāṭa, nōiṭ duḍzājho, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly, (but) not ill-doers’; 31. 10 frauuraetā vāstrīm … nōiṭ … auuāstrīṭo … humaratōiś baxstā, ‘she chose the herdsman … the non-herdsman did not get her goodwill’; 31. 17 vīduuā vīduuś mraoṭū, mā vīduuā aipū ḍeḇāuauaiṭ, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing, let the unknowing delude no longer’; 44. 12 huuō, nōiṭ aiiṭm, angrō mainītetē, ‘he it is, not the other, who thinks as an enemy’; 46. 8 yā ɪm ḍujiāiōiś pāiīṭ, nōiṭ duḍjiāiōiś, ‘may they keep him from good living, not from bad living’; 46. 17 yādā vē ḍaśmāṇī sāṅghānī, nōiṭ anafśmaṇ, ‘so I may proclaim for you verses, not non-verses’ (i.e. nothing less than verses); 47. 4 ahmāṭ mainīṭōuś rārasāieṁtī dṛeṇuuaṇṭo …; nōiṭ iḥā aṣauuanō, ‘from this Will the wrongful deflect people …; not so the righteous’; 48. 5 huxādṛā xṣeṇtām, mā nō duṣxĪa- ḍrā xṣeṇtā, ‘let good rulers rule, do not let bad rulers rule us’.

384. Other examples of opposed terms set in pointed antithesis: 43. 5 akēm akāī, vaŋ'him aśīm vaŋhaouĪ, ‘evil for the evil one, a good reward for the good’; 46. 5 yō aṣauau dṛeṇuuaṇṭo, ‘a righteous man (receiving) a wrongful one’; 49. 4 fṣuiiasū aفسuuiāṇṭo, yaesām nōiṭ huuaṛstāś vās duṣuuaṛstā, ‘non-stockraisers among stockraisers, through whose not (doing) good deeds the bad deeds prevail’.

Conjunction of related terms8

385. A positive, comparative, or superlative term may be reinforced by association with another form of the same word: 43. 3 vaŋhōuś vāhīō, ‘better than good’; 51. 6 vaḥīō vaŋhōuś … akāī aśīṭō, ‘better than good … worse than bad’; YH 36. 2 uruuaṣiṭhāiṭi uruuaζiṭi, ṇaṃiṣṭhāiṭi ṇaṃaḥhā, ‘with the most joyous

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8 Cf. Humbach i. 98 f.; West (2007a), 111–16.
one’s joy, with the most reverent one’s reverence’; 36. 6 sraēstam at tōi kohṛpēm kohṛpam ... barezištəm barezīmanəm, ‘fairest body of thy bodies ... highest of the high’; 39. 5 vaṭhēuṣ x′aētēuṣ x′aētātā, ‘with a good clan’s clanship’.

386. A noun or adjective may be used twice in close association in different cases (polyptoton), usually expressing matched or reciprocal relationship:
31. 17 viduuā vidušē mraotū, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing one’; 46. 2 hiaṭ friiō friiāi daidiḥ, ‘as a friend would give to a friend’; 46. 6 huoō zī droguuā, yō droguuātē vahištō, huoō aśauuā, yahmāi aśauuā friiō, ‘for he is wrongful who is good to the wrongful one; he is righteous, who has a righteous one as friend’; 53. 4 aśānī aśauuabiiō, ‘a righteous woman (serving) the righteous’; 46. 18 āstēng ahmāi yō nā āstāi daidiṭā, ‘hostilities on him who would subject us to hostility’, cf. YH 36. 1; 53. 5 aniiō aśīm viuūṅghatū, ‘let one vie with another’; YH 35. 10, quoted in §91.

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

388. Further examples of the deliberate association of related terms (paronomasia): 28. 8 vahištəm ḍōrā, vahištā, yōm aśā vahištā hazaoṣəm ahurem, yāsā, ‘for the best gift, O best one, I pray thee, the Lord of one mind with best Right’; 43. 10 parścācā nā, yā tōi ohmā parstā, parstōm zī ḍōrā ..., ‘and ask us what thou hast to ask us, for what is asked by thee ...’; 44. 1 namapōū ā, yaṭā nemē xsmāauatō, ‘(I ask) out of reverence, how (is the proper) reverence of your kind’; 45. 11 yas.tā dāeuuōng aparō mašiiāscā tarēmstā yōi im tarēmainiāntā, ‘whoever so follows us in scorning the Daevas and mortals who scorn him’; YH 38. 3 frauzaaṇapoh Ahurānīs Ahurāhiīā hauuapahā, ‘the Lord’s Wives that speed on by the Lord’s artistry’.

Anaphora9

389. Anaphora, the repetition of a word (with or without morphological variation) in successive parallel clauses or phrases, is very common. The repetition is usually twofold or threefold, but can be more. The repeated element is usually initial in the clause or phrase.
Examples: 28. 6–7, quoted in §343; 28. 11 ḍōhmat vaocaṭjē mainiūuṣ ha-cā, ḍōrā Ṇēaghā, ‘to voice in line with thy will, through thy mouth’; 31. 9 ḍōoi as ārmaitiś, ḍōrā ā gēuš taśā as xratuṣ mainiūuṣ, ‘thine was piety, thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will’ (note the repetition of as, contrary to §370); 32. 5 hiaṭ vā akā manaṭhā yōng daeuuōng aṅkaścā mainiūuṣ, akā śiiauōnem vacahā yā ..., ‘as by evil thought the Evil Will also (lures) you who are Daevas, (and) by the evil speech with which ...’; 45. 1 nu guśōdum, nu sraotā ... nu im vispā.

9 Skjærvø 147–9.
cihr̓ zí, mazdāḥódūm, ‘now listen, now hear, now all take it to heart, for it is clear’; 46. 11 yōng xā uruā xāēcā xraodāt daēnā, ‘whom their own soul and their own moral self will torment’; 49. 7 taṭcā vohū, Mazdā, sraotū mananāhā, sraotū aṣā, ‘let a man hear this too with Good Thought, Mazdā, let him hear it with Right’.

YH 35. 8 Aṣahīīa āat sairī, Aṣahīīa varezānē, ‘in union with Right, in the community of Right’; 36. 4, quoted in §394; 36. 5 vīspāīs ḍā ēhumatāis, vīspāīs hūxtāis, vīspāīs huuārstaśīs pairijasāmaidē, ‘with all good thoughts, with all good words, with all good deeds we attend thee’; 37. 5 vohucā manāh yazaimidē yohucā xādrem vāhpimcā daēnām vāhpimcā āsratām vāhpimcā ārmaitīm, ‘Good Thought we worship, and good Dominion, and good Morality, and good Respect(?)’, and good Piety’, cf. 38. 3; 39. 5; 40. 4 abā xāēutē, abā varezānā, abā haxāmāṃ xīiā yāiē hiṣcāmaidē, abā vē utā xītāmā, ‘so may it be with the clan, so with the communities, so with the societies we associate with, so also may it be with us for you’.

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

Anaphora with the negative particle: 29. 5 nōīt arexājitōi frajīiāitī, nōīt fsūiienē dreguawāi pairi? ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stockraiser among the wrongful?’; 44. 13 yōi … nōīt Aṣahīīa ādīuuiieitī hacēnā, nōīt frasaii Vāhpēs cāxarnā Manahō, ‘who do not strive for the companionship of Right, (and) have not had the pleasure of consulting Good Thought’; 45. 2 nōīt ṇā manā, nōīt sōnghā, nōīt xratauū, naēdā varemā, nōīt uxdā, naēdā śīaotēnā, nōīt daēnā, nōīt uruānā hacāinē, ‘not our thoughts, not our pronouncements, not our intellects, nor our choices, not our words, nor our deeds, nor our moralities, nor our souls, are in accord’.

With demonstrative pronouns: 32. 1, quoted in §318; 45. 8–10 tēm nō staotaiś namahō a vūuaraśō | nū zī īṣ cašmaini viōdārasaṃ … || tēm nō vohū maṭ manahō cixinuṇū | … || tēm nō yasnaśi ērmāiśi mīmavājō, ‘him I seeking to envelop in our reverent praises have just now discerned in my eye … seeking to make him, together with Good Thought, pleased with us … seeking to magnify him with piety’s acts of worship’ (note the parallelism of the three desiderative participles); 48. 6 hā zī [nā] huśōbēnā, hā nō utaiūiūiī daṭ tawūiśī … aṭ aśīiā Aṣā Mazdā uruāra vaxšaṭ, ‘for she it is that gives us easy living, she too vitality and strength … and for her Mazdā with Right was to grow the plants’; 51. 18 tām cīstm Dōjāmāspō … vareṇtē, tāt xādrem Manahō Vāhpēs vidō, ‘that insight Djamaaspa chooses to find, that realm of Good Thought’; YH 38. 4 yā vē, vāhpis, Ahurō Mazdā nāṃm dadā, táis vā yazaimidē, táis firiāmamā, táis namaxīiāmā, táis īśūiīiāmā, ‘the names that Lord Mazdā gave you, Good Ones, with them we worship you, with them we propitiate, with them we reverence, with them we give thanks’.

Parallel questions with the same or different interrogative words: 29. 1 kahāmā mā ḍbārōzdūm? kē mā taṣaṭ? ‘for whom did you shape me? Who made me?’; 44. 3–7, a long series of questions: note in particular 5 kē huuāpā … dāt
391. Parallel dependent clauses may be linked in series by anaphora.

Relative clauses: 28. 2–3, see §367; 32. 7 aēšam aēnāŋȳm ... vā jōīīā sōŋhaitē, vāīś srāũī x'aēnā aitaŋhā, vāēšam tū ... irīxtōm ... vāēdiśō ahī, 'of such offences which are decreed mortal, for which one is tried by the glowing metal, (and) of whose consequences thou art the paramount provider'; 32. 11 tāēcīt mā mōrāndēn jīōtīt, vōī dṛguuāntō mazbīš cīkōītērēš ... vōī vahiśtāt ašāunō ... rāēsīāŋ mānāŋhō, 'those are they who pervert life, the wrongful who with the grandees have distinguished themselves ..., who will divert the righteous from best thought'; 46. 16 yaḍrā Aṣā hacaītē Ārmaitīś, | yaḍrā vāŋhōōū manāŋhō ḫētā šēaṃtōm, | yaḍrā Mazdā vāṛadōmām ṣāētiū Ahurō, 'to where Piety is together with Right, to where Good Thought's realm is at one's disposal, to where Lord Mazdā abides in abundance'.

Temporal clauses: 31. 11 hīiāt nō, Mazdā, pāōruūtūm gāēbāscā tāsō dāēnāscā | ōbā mānāŋhā xratūścā, hīiāt astūntōm dādā uṣṭanōm, | hīiāt śīiaōdnāscā sōnghāscā, 'since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves with thy thought, and our intellects, since thou gavest bodily vitality, since (thou gavest) actions and pronouncements'.

392. Related to anaphora is the effect produced by the co-ordination of words sharing the same prefix: 46. 2 mā kamanfšuūā hīiātscā kamanānā ahmī, 'from my poverty in herds and because I am poor in men'; 49. 11 duśkṣaōbdēng duśśiiaōbdēng dūṣuuaacāhō dūṣdēnāŋū dūṣmanāŋhō, 'ill-dominioned, ill-actioned, ill-speaking, ill-moralled, ill-thinking'; YH 35. 2 humatanām huixtānām huuarntanam, 'of good thoughts, good words, good deeds'; 38. 3 hupēraōbdāscā vā huoŋyāζaōbdāscā hūśnādrāscā, 'you of good fording, of good current, of good bathing-pools'; 39. 3 yawuaējiiō yawuauēsūūō, 'the ever-living, the ever-blessing'; 40. 3 nērē ... aśāunō aśacinaŋhō ... haxmainē ahmaibiiē ah- mārēfānāŋhō, 'men, right-doers (and) right-seekers ... for association with us, supporters of us'.

393. Parallel sentences with matching elements: YH 36. 3 ātarē vōī Mazdā Aḥurahiiē aḥū, mainiiū vōī ahiē sēniśō aḥū, 'truly, the fire of Lord Mazdā art thou; truly, his most bounteous will art thou'.

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

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

Examples: 33. 10 yā zī āṇharō yāscā hōṇī yāscā, Mazda, bauwainī, ‘which have been and which are and which, Mazda, shall come to be’; 43. 7 ciś ahī? kahiī ahī? kaθā aiiarō daxšarā frasaiīiā dišā …? ‘who art thou? Whose art thou? How mightest thou take a day for questioning?’; 45. 2 noīt nā manā, noīt sōṅghā, noīt xoratauūō, ‘not our thoughts, not our pronouncements, not our intellects’; 48. 8, two one-line questions followed by a two-line question; 49. 1 ga�ū mōi, ā mōi rapā, ahīī Vohū aosō vidā Manajhā, ‘come to me, support me, devise his destruction with Good Thought’.

YH 36. 4 vohū ḍūṣā manajhā, vohū ḍūṣā aṣā, vaṇhuriā ḍūṣā ciśtōiś śīiāoḥṇēiścā vacōbīścā paiṛijsāmāiđē, ‘with good thought, with good Right, with good insight’s deeds and words we attend thee’; 37. 2 ahiīī xṣaṭrācā nazoṇācā hauwa-paṇḥaiścā, ‘through his dominion and greatness and artistries’; 38. 5 apasācā vā aziścā vā māṭerāscā vā … āuuaocāmā, ‘as the Waters, as the Milch Cows, as the Mothers … we will invoke you’; 41. 1 dadamahicā ciśmahicā acā vaedaiimahī, ‘we dedicate and assign and proclaim’; 41. 5 aogamadaećcā usmāhicā viṣāmadaećcā (4, 4, 5 syllables), ‘we declare ourselves and are willing and stand ready’.

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

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

- m manuscripts copied by Mitrô-Āpân in 1323, namely:
  - A \([J2]\) = Oxon. Bodl. Ms. Zend c. 1
  - B \([K5]\)
- h lost manuscript copied by Hōshāng i Siyāvakshh c. 1478, represented by:
  - C \([Mf1]\), copied in 1741
  - D \([Pt4]\), copied in 1780
- s manuscripts of the Indian Yasna Sade, notably:
  - E \([H1]\), not dated
  - F \([J6]\), 16th–17th century
- v manuscripts of the Persian Vendidad Sade, notably:
  - G \([Mf2]\), copied in 1618
  - H \([Jp1]\), copied in 1638

I use the siglum \(\omega\) for the consensus of the manuscripts, and \textit{dett. (deteriores)} for unspecified manuscripts not included in the above selection. A\textsuperscript{a} and A\textsuperscript{c} mean A before or after correction.

A. The Verse Texts

\textbf{Yasna 27}

13 ya\(\ddot{\text{a}}\) ah\(\ddot{u}\) vairii\(\ddot{i}\), a\(\ddot{\text{a}}\) ratu\(\ddot{s}\) a\(\ddot{\text{a}}\)\(\ddot{\text{t}}\)c\(\ddot{c}\) hac\(\ddot{\text{a}}\)
va\(\ddot{\text{h}}\)\(\ddot{\text{h}}\)\(\ddot{\text{u}}\)\(\ddot{s}\) dazd\(\ddot{\text{a}}\) manan\(\ddot{j}\)h\(\ddot{o}\) \(\ddot{\text{i}}\)\(\ddot{\text{a}}\)\(\ddot{o}\)\(\ddot{n}\)\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{m}\) a\(\ddot{\text{h}}\)\(\ddot{\text{h}}\)\(\ddot{\text{u}}\)\(\ddot{s}\) Mazd\(\ddot{\text{a}}\)
x\(\ddot{\text{s}}\)\(\ddot{\text{h}}\)\(\ddot{\text{r}}\)\(\ddot{\text{e}}\)\(\ddot{\text{m}}\)c\(\ddot{\text{a}}\) Ahur\(\ddot{\text{i}}\)\(\ddot{\text{i}}\)\(\ddot{\text{a}}\), yim drigubii\(\ddot{i}\)\(\ddot{o}\) dada\(\ddot{\text{t}}\) \(\ddot{\text{v}}\)\(\ddot{\text{a}}\)\(\ddot{\text{t}}\)\(\ddot{\text{a}}\)\(\ddot{\text{r}}\)\(\ddot{\text{e}}\)\(\ddot{\text{m}}\).
این رنگ‌برداری‌های محدود، نمودارها و نگارش‌ها بر اساس متن خاصی انتخاب و توضیح شده‌اند.

14 ašəm vohū, vahištəm astī:
ušťa astī, ušťa ahmāi,
hiiāt ašāi vahištāi ašəm.

Yasna 28

1 ahiiā yāsā nəmaŋhā ustānā.zastō rafədrəhariā,
Mainiišū, Mazdā, paourruim Spəntahiiā Ašā, vispəŋ, ŝiiaothnā,
Vañhəuš xratūm Mananəpō yā xšnəuuišā gəušcā uruuanəm,

2 yā vā, Mazdā Ahurā, pairi.jasāi vohū mananəpō,
maibiiō dāuūoi ahuuā, astuuatscā hiiatcā mananəpō,
āiiaptā ašāt hacā, yāis rapəntō daidit x'ɑţrē;

3 yā vā Ašā ufiianī Manascā Vohū apaourruim
Mazdaqma Ahurəm, yačiiō xšaθrəmcā əɣ'ənouuumnəm
varədaiti Ārmaitiš: ā mōi rafədrəi zuuəŋ jasatā.

4 yā uruuanəm mēn gairē vohū dadē hafrā mananəpō,
ašišcā šiiaothnənəm viduš Mazdā Ahurahiā,
yauuət isāi tauuācā, auuaτ xsāi ačē Ašahiiā.

5 Ašā, kat Əβā darəsənī, manascā vohū vaedəmənō
gātumcā Ahurāi1 souuišti rəašom Mazdāi?
anə məfrā mazištəm vāurōimaidi xrafstrā hizuuā.

6 Vohū gaidi Mananəpō, daiddi Ašā dā darəgāiiū
orəʃuuaiš tū uxdiš, Mazdā, Zaraθustrāi aojōnhuuat rafənō
ahmaišiācā, Ahurā, yā daibišuutō duuəcā tauruuiiāmā.

7 daiddī, Ašā, tām ašim, vaŋhəuš āiiaptā mananəpō;
daiddi tū, Ārmaitē, Vištaspā īšom maibiiācā;
daś.tū, Mazdā, xšaiiācā, yā vō mafrā srouuii mā rādā.

8 vahištəm Əβā, vahištə, yēm Ašā vahištə hazaošəm
Ahurəm, yāsā vāunuš narōi Frašaostrāi maibiiācā
yačiiisacā īr rəŋhəŋhīi vispāi yauuē vaŋhəuš mananəpō.

9 anāiš vā nōišt, Ahurā [Mazdā].2 Ašəmcā yānāiš zaranaemá
Manascā hiiat vahištəm, yōi vā yōiظام ādaamē stūtum: yužom sauuištiāŋhō; išo xšaθrəmcā sauuoŋhəm.

10 aτ yōŋ ašāaτcā vōišt vəŋhəušcā dəθəŋ mananəpō
ərəθbəŋ, Mazdā Ahurā, ačiβiiō pərənə åpanāiš kəməm;
əτ vō [xšmaibiiai]3 asunā vaedā x'araišiia vaištiia srauuā.

1  ahuraiia Gippert
2 [ ] Andreas–Wackernagel
3 [ ] Wackernagel
11 yō āiś aṣām ni. pāṃḥe manasca vohu yauuaētātī, tuuēm, Mazdā Ahūrā, frō mā siśā ḍhrāmāt vaocaṇḥē maṇīiūṣ haca ḍhrā ṣeāṛhā, yāiś a aṇhu paouruiiō bauuaṭ.

**Yasna 29**


2 aḍā taṣā gōuš parēṣṭā Aṣōm: “kāṭā tōi gauuō āt ṭu, hiīaṭ ēm dāṭā xṣaiiāṇṭō? ēdā vāstrā gaodāiīō ḍhraxśō: kāṃ hōi uśtā ahureṃ, yō drēguoōdebiś aṃṣomā vādāiīōit?”

3 aḥmāi Aṣā, nōiṭ sarajā, aduuǣśō gauuōi, paiti.mrauaat: “auuāeṃma nōiṭ vīduīiē; yā šauauaitē ādrēṅg ṣeśuāuāḥō, hāṭām huuō aoejiṣō, yahmāi zauuāṅg jihā kāṛduṣā,”


5 aṭ vā ustānāiś ā huuā7 zastāiś frīnomā Ahūrāiīā, mā uruua gōuścā azīāiā, hiīaṭ Mazdāṃ duuaṇḍī frasābiiā: “nōiṭ ṣeṛaṇjiiōiī frajjiāitīśi, nōiṭ ēsuiiṇeṭī dṛguuaasū pariī?”

6 atē8 vaocāṭ Ahūrō Mazdā vīduuā vafūṣ vīiānaiiā: “nōiṭ aeuuā ahū vistō naēdā ṭuṣ āṣāčīt haca; aṭ zī ḍhrā ēsuiiṇaṭeacā vāstriiācā ṣeṣbœstā tataṣā.”

7 tēṃ azūtōiś Ahūrō maṭōṃ taṣṭā Aṣā hazaosō Mazdā gauuōi xṣuuiṭomcā; huuō uruṣeṣiibiiō spoṃntō sāsnaiiā. kas.tē vohu maṇaṇhā yō ē dāiīaṭ ōṃuo āmarṣeṣiibiiō?

8 “aṃ mōi idā vistō, yō nō aeuuō sāsnā guṣṭā, Zaraḥuṣṭro Spīṭāmō: huuō nō mazdā9 vaṣṭī Aṣāicā caroṣeṭōṛā sruuaiieṛhē, hiīaṭ hōi hudamōm dīiā vaxeṛrahiiā.”

9 aṭcā gōuš uruua raoster, “yō anaṃṣom xṣaṃmōṇe rādom, vācem nṛṇeṣ aṣūraṇhīiā, yēṃ ē vasemī iṣā.xṣaṭrīm.10 kada yauuā huuō anhaṭ, yō hōi daṇṭ zastauuāt auuō?”

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4 [ ] Andreas–Wackernagel
5 [ ] Andreas–Wackernagel: āṭ mōi Bartholomae
6 [ ] Andreas–Wackernagel
7 Kellens–Pirart: ahuuā D s v: ahuuā m C
8 Insler: aṭ ē fēre cā
9 dett.: mazdā cā
10 h F G: xṣaṭrom m E
“yűzēm aēibiiō, Ahurā, aogō dātā ašā xšaθrōmcā auuatu vohū mananpāhā, yā hušēitiš rāmāmcā dāt:
azōmcīt ahiā, Mazdā, ūḇ̣āṃ mēḫi paouruum vaedōm.”

kudā ašem vohucā manō xšaθrōmcā? aš mām ašā yűžēm, Mazdā, frāxšēnē mazōi magāiiā paiťi.zānatā.
Ahurā, nū nā auuarā, ūhmā rātōiš yūšmāuuaṭam.

**Yasna 30**

1 aṭ tā vaxšīiā, isēntō, yā mazdādā hiaiṭcīt vidušē, staoṭācā Ahurāi12 yesniācā Vαŋhūuš Mananpāh
humāzdārā Ašāiecā, yā raocābiš darəsātā uruuazą.

2 sraota gaušaiš vahištā, ā vaṇatā sūcā mananpāh ā varənā viciṭhāiši narōm narəm x‘axiiai tanuiiē
para mazō yāŋhō, ahmāi [nē]13 sazdiiāi baodaʃtō paiťi.

3 aṭ tā mainiuu, paouriti yā yēmā x‘afənə asruuatóm,
manahic[cā]14 vacahicā śiaοdαnōi hi, vahiiō akəmcā; āscā hudāŋhō əroś vi.Šiiaṭa, nōit duždāŋhō.

4 aṭcā hiaiṭ tā hōm mainiiū jasaetōm paouruum, dazde
gāmcā ajiiāitīmcā, yaṭ[a[cā]15 aŋhαt apaṭmōm aŋhuš: acištō druguātum, aṭ ašaunē vahištōm manō.

5 aiiā mainiuuā varōtā yō drguuā acištā vərəziō, 
ašem mainiuuš spōništō, yē xraoždištēng asōnō vastē,
yaēcā xšnəoʃən Ahurəm haiʃiiaiš śiaοdαnaiš fraorət Mazdəm.

6 aiiā nōit əroś vi.Šiiaṭa daecuucinā, hiaiṭ ɨʃ ā dəbaomə
pərasəmnōŋ16 upā jasaṭ, hiaiṭ varənātā acištəm manō,
aṭ aĕsəməm hōn.duərənta, yā bənəiən ahūm marətənō.

7 ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaṭ mananpāh vohū ašācā,
aṭ kaḥrəm om uṭauiiitiş dadāt, ḏrmaitiš ṣnma;
aĕsəm tōi ā aŋhαt yaṭa [αιiaŋhā]17 ādānaiiš paouruuiō.

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11 Lommel: mā maʃa ω
12 ahurāii Gippert: ahurahiiā Lommel
13 [] Kuiper
14 [] Bartholomae
15 [] Andreas–Wackernagel
16 Kellens–Pirart: paorşmanɔnγ fere ω
17 [] Kuiper
A. The Verse Texts

8 aṭčā yadā aēšām kaēnā jamaitī aēnaḥḥām, aṭ, Mazdā, taibīo xšaθrēm vohū mananḥā vōiuūidāite18 aēbiīo sastē, Ahurā, yōi Aṣāi dadōn19 zastaiō Drujēm.

9 aṭčā tōi vaēm xiǐmām yōi īm frašām kōrenāun ahūm, Mazdāscā Ahurāŋhō ā.mōiiastrā.barānā Ašācā, hiiāt haθrā manā buuaθ yāθrā cistiś āŋhāṭ20 maēθā.

10 adā zī auuō Drūjō [auuō] buuaθītī skōndō spāiaθrahiīā, aṭ āsiṣṭā yaojanṭē ā huṣhtōiš Vاهūš Mananḥō Mazdā Ašxīīācā, yōi zazēntī vaŋhāu srauuaḥī.

11 hiiāt tā uruūatā saṣāθā21 yā Mazdā dadāt, maṣiiŋhō, x'ītīcā āniitī, hiiāt cā darəgēm dṛguuūdəbiiō raśō sauuačā aṣauuabiiō, aṭ aipi tāi šāḥhaiti uštā.

Yaṣna 31

1 tā vā uruūatā marṇtō aguštā vacā sēŋghamahī aēbiīō yōi uruūatāiś Drūjō Aṣahīīā gaeθā vī.mōeṇcaitē, aṭčīt aēbiīō vahīštā yōi zraḍā ānḥēn Mazdāī.

2 yezī āiś nōiθ uruūanē aduuā22 aibī.dərəštā va̮xiiā, aṭ vā vīspēng ā <a>iiōī,23 yaθā ratūm Ahurō vāēdā Mazdā aiiā āsaiīā, yā aṣāt hacā juuamahī.

3 yām dā mainiū āṭrācā ašācā cōiš rānōbiiā xśnūtōm, hiiāt uruūatōm cazdōŋhuuadəbiiō, tāt nō, Mazdā, viduuanoī vaocā hizuuā ōbbahīīā āŋhō, yā juuaṇtō vīspēng vāuriiā.

4 yadā Aṣēm zauuīm ānḥēn Mazdāscā Ahurāŋhō Ašīcā Āramaitī, vahīstā ışasā mananḥā maibiiō xšaθrēm aojōŋhuuāt, yehiiā vērədā vanaēmā Drujēm.

5 tāt mōi vī.cidiīā vaocā, hiiāt mōi aśā dātā vahiīō, vīduiiē vohū mananḥā mīncā daидiiāi, yehiīā mā ərəšiś, tācīt, Mazdā Ahurā, yā nōiθ vā āŋhāṭ ānhaiti vā.

6 “aḥmāi āŋhāṭ vahiītēm, yō mōi viduuā vaocāt haiūtīm, māŋrēm yīm havuuatātō aṣahīīa amərə<ta>tātāsc.24 Mazdāi auuāt xšaθrēm, hiiāt hōi vohū vaxšāt mananḥā.”
7 yas.tā maṇṭā paouruiō raocēbīš rōīṭbēn xāṭrā, 
huuō xraṭbā dāṃiš aṣōṃ, yā dāraiaṭ vahištām manō; 
tā, Mazdā, mainiūū uṣṣiīō, yō ā nūrmcīt, Ahūrā, hāmō.25
8 aṭ ūṭbā mājhi paouruūm, Mazdā, yazūm stōi mananḥā, 
vaṃḥouš ṭtarāṃ mananḥō, hiiat ūṭbā hām caṃṣmaīn [hāṃ]grabēṃ, 
haiṭīm26 aṣaḥiīā dāṃīṃ, aṃḥουš ahurēṃ šīiaoṭhanaēšū.
9 ūṭōi as ārmāiteš, ūṭbō ā gōuš tašā as xraṭuš 
mainiūūuš,27 Mazdā Ahūrā, hiiat aḫīiāi ādaṭ paḥaṃ 
vāstrīiāt vā ā itē yō ā nōīṭ āḥaṭ28 vāstrīiō.
10 aṭ hi aiīā fra.uuurāt vāstrīm aḥiīāi fšiiaiiētēm 
ahurēṃ aṣauuānēṃ, vaṃḥouš fšāḥiīm mananḥō; 
nōīṭ, Mazdā, auuāstriaī ṭauuāscīnā humōrētōiś bahṣtā.
11 hiiat nō, Mazdā, paouruūm gaṇēbāscā tašō daēnāscā 
ūṭbā mananḥa xraṭuṣcā, hiiat astuuaṃtēm ādaṭ uṣṭanēṃ, 
hiiat šīiaoṭnācā sōṅghaṣcā, yaṭrā varōnēng vasā dāīiētē, 
12 aṭrā vacēm bahaiti miṇah.uuacā vā āraṣ uuacā vā, 
vīduuā vā uuīduuā vā, ahiīā zorēdācā mananḥācā; 
ānuūh.haxū Ārmāiteš mainiūū pērēsaitē, yaṭrā maēbā.
13 yā frasā āuuuiśiā, yā vā, Mazdā, pērēsētē tataiā, 
yō ā kāsōū aṃnēhō ā maziśtāṃ [a]yamaīte būjēm, 
tā caṃmōng ūṭbīrā hārō aibī āṣā [aibī] vaṃnāhi vīspā.
14 tā ūṭbā pērēsā, Ahūrā, yā zī ā <aē> ītē29 jāṅghaticā, 
yā iṣudō dādaṇṭē dāṭraṇēm hacā aṣaunō 
yāsā Mazdā drēguaūdōbiiō – yaṭā tā aḥḥēn hōṅkērētā hiiat.
15 pērēsā auuaṭ, yā maēnīs,30 yō dṛēguuāitē xšāṭrēm hunāiti 
 dúšśiiofānāi, Ahūrā, yō nōīṭ jiīōtūm hanara vīnastī 
vāstrīiēhiīā aṃnaḥō pāsōū vīrāaṭē adrujiiaṇtō.
16 pērēsā auuaṭ, yaṭā huuō yō huḍānuś dəmnanahiīā xšāṭrēm 
šōiīraḥiīā vā daḥīiōuš vā aṣā fradaθāiīā spērəzat31 ūṭbāuuuā, 
Mazdā Ahūrā – yādā huuō aḥhaṭ yā.šīiaōṭnascā.

25 yō [ā] Roth hāmō C v: haomō m D s
26 hiḏām Kellens–Pirart, praestat hīḏāum
27 B: ma(i)niūs s, -uṣ A h v
28 āḥhaiti?
29 < > Bartholomae
30 h v: mainiū s m s
31 Insler, fradaθāiī asp- ω
katărêm așauă vă drăguă vă varănuuatę maziiō? viduă víduś mê mraotū, mă ouuĎuă aipă dăbăuuaiăt. zdî nă, Mazdă Ahură, Vânhōuš fradaștă manaŋhō.

mă.ćiș .toJSON vă drăguuató măṭrășcă güșță sășnășcă, ă zi damăno mīsăm vă sōițrăm vă dăxiium vă [ă]dăt dușităcă marațkaēcă; ață ĵi săzdŭm snaiđišă.

güșță yō maṇță aș̂əm ahūm.biś víduuă, Ahură, șoră.uxđāi vacaŋhăm xșiäianmńo hintuō vaso őba ābrā suxră, Mazdă, Vânhău vidată ɾaŋnaiă.

yō aiațășăauaanom, diuuănnm hōi aparəm xșaiiō; darəgōm aiiu təmaŋhō, duș'xaraŏțm, auaētăs vacı, tōm vă ahūm, dręguuanțō, Šiaoaōănaiš x'ăiš daēnă naēșat.

Mazdă dadăță Ahurō haaruuuătō amęņo<ta>tășcă būriō ș așăxiiăcă x'ăpăițiťăș xădrăhiiă sarō<ii> vaṇhēuș vazduuarę manaŋhō, yō hōi mainiiū Šiaoaōnaišcă uruuădō.

cițră i hūdăŋhē, yațnă vaędziınni manaŋhă; vōhū huuō xșăță aș̂əm vacaŋhă Šiaoaōănăcă hapti. huuō tōi, Mazdă Ahură, văzištō aŋhaiti ğstiš.

Yasna 32

1 aș̂iăică x'ăeuțuș yășaț, ahiiă vəroțōnəm maț airīamnă, ahiiă daeuua mahmi manoi,36 Ahurahiiă uruăzəmă Mazdă: “őβoi dūtarăhō āphoonă, tōng daraiiō37 yōi vă daiibiișnićti”;

2 aeiβiiō Mazdă Ahurō sărəmnō Vohū Manaŋhă xșăđrăț hacă paite mraot. Așă huș. haľ x'ănuuată, “spəntəm vō ārmaitim vaŋ'hum varəmaidī; hā nō aŋhaț.”

3 ț yuș daeuua vispăhō Akăt Manaŋhō stă cițrēm, yască vă maș yazaitē, Drūjască Păirimătiișcă; Šiaoaμăm aipă daibitănă, yăis asruđŭm38 bümiiă haptaiębē,

4 yăt yuș tă fra.mımață, yă mașiă aćișță daŋtō vaxșṇętă daeuuo.zușă, vaŋhēuș siț̂diiamnă manaŋhō, Mazdă Ahurahiiă xrațuoș nasiiianțō Așațcăa.
5 tá dəhənaọtā maṣīm hujiātōiš amərə<ta>tātascā,39 hiáta və akā manaŋhā yōŋ daēuəŋ akascā mainiuš, akā šiiaothəm vacaŋhā yə fra.cinas drəgwuanətəm xšaiiŋ.

6 pourū aēnā ənāxšiš yāiš srauaḥiieiti, yezī tāiš aŋə, hātə.marənē Ahurā, vaḥištə voistə manaŋhā; ġbəhmī və,40 Mazdā, xšaθrōi Ašaieca41 sōŋhō vi.dəm.

7 aēšəm aēnəŋhəm na hectic vīduuā aojōi ġādroiš, yā jōiš sōŋhəhaiti,42 yāiš srauui xəənə aiaŋhā, yaēšəm tū, Ahurā, iɾixtəm, Mazdā, vaēdištə ahī.

8 aēšəm aēnəŋhəm Viuuaŋhushō srauui Yıməscit, yō maṣiioŋ cixšnuš ahmākoŋ gōuš43 baga xərəmnō. aēšəmcit ā ahmi ġbəhmi, Mazdā, vīcīdōi aipī.

9 dušasttī sraua mōrəndat, huūo jiiātūu sōŋhanaiiš xratūm;44 apō mā Ĭstīm [apa]yantā bərəxɒm īətīm Vahnāuš Mananhō. tā uxđā mainišuš mahi, Mazdā, Ašaieca yūŋmaibiia45 ġərəzē.

10 huūo mā nā sraua mōrəndat, yō aicištəm vaēnaŋhē aogōdā gəm ašibiiə huuarəcə, yascā dāthōŋ drguuātō dadat, yascā vəstră vī.uuapa, yască vadarō voiždaŋ ašaunē.

11 taeciš mā mōrənən jiiōtūm, yōi drguuāntō46 mazbīs cikoifərəš arh'išča aŋhuaasćə acaiectı raexənaŋhō vaędəm, yōi vahištət ašaunō, Mazdā, rərəšiian mananhō.

12 yā raŋhaio ůn srauaŋhā vahištət šiiaothanat mərətənō, aœibiō Mazdā akā mrao, yōi gōuš mōrənən uruuəxš.uxtī jiiōtūm, yāiš grēhmā ašɑt vaɾətə Karpā xšaθrəmcə išnaŋm Drujōm:

13 yā47 xšaθrā grēhmō hišasa Acıstahiia domānē Mananhō, aŋhuəs məɾəxtəro ahiiə, yaecā, Mazdā, jigərəzət kāmē ġbəhiia məqr̲ānō dūtīm, yō iš paṭ darəsət Ašahiiə.

14 ahiiə grēhmō ā.hoiəi nī Kāuuaiaiəcxt xratui [nī] daraŋt vəɾəcəhića fraidianū, hiiat visəntę drguuaŋtəm auuō, hiiatcă gāuš jaidiiii mraoi, yō duɾaοšəm saocaiiŋt ťauuō.48

39 < > Monna
40 vi m
41 Kellens–Pirart: ašaiecă m h: ašaiecă s v
42 sōŋhaiti s
43 Andreas–Wackernagel: gauš co
44 m h v: xratu s
45 xəmaibiia Kellens
46 D s H: drguuatō m C
47 yaiš B
A. The Verse Texts

15 anāiš ā vi.nānāsā yā Karəpətāscā Kauuıtāscā.
   auuāiş aibi°⁴⁹ yōng daińt, nōįt jiiåtôuš xşiawnəŋ vasō,
   tōi ābiiā bairriäntē Vaŋhōuš ā dōmănē Manañhō.

16 hamēm tât vahiśtācĩt, yō ušuruiiē sïascït dahmahiiā
   xšaiqās, Mazdā Ahurā, yehiā mā aiṁiściît duuəëṭā.
   hiiāt aənajhē drəguuətō, əənū işiəng ʔaŋhiiā.⁵⁰

Yasna 33

1 yaḏā āiś, iḇā vəɾəšaitē, yā dātā aŋhōuš paouruiiehiiiā
   raṭuš,⁵¹ šiаoōnā raziištā drəguuətāēcā hiiatcā ašañē
   yexiūacā hōm.iiəsaitē miθhiiiiā yācā hōi ārzuuā.

2 aṯ yā akəm drəguuəitē vəcaŋhā vā aṯ vā manajhā
   zəstoi̇biiā vā vəɾəšaii, vaŋhāu vō cōiθaitē astīm,
   tōi vərāi⁵² rādənti, Ahurahiīā zəo̩ē Mazdā.

3 yā ašuñē vahištō 'x'əcūti vā aṯ vā vəɾəzə̃niō
   airriamnā vā, Ahurā, vīdās vā ōbəxən̄hā gauuōi,
   aṯ huuo Asahiiā aŋhaṭ Vaŋhōušcā ṣaṭrē Manañhō.

4 yē ōbət, Mazdā, asruştīm akəmcā manō yazāi apā
   x'əcūtuścā tarəmaitim vəɾəzə̃nəxiīacā nazdişt̄am Drujəm
   airriamnəscā nadəntō gəušcā vəstrāt aciśtəm maŋtūm,

5 yas.tē vîspā.maziśtəm srao̩əm zbiiaə uuawhâhānē
   aŋnō darəgō.jiiaitīm ā xəʔərəm vaŋhōuš manajhō,
   ašaṭ ā vəɾəzuś paðō, yaesū Mazdā Ahurō ʃaəcii,

6 yō zaotā aša orazuš, huuo mainiiouš ā vahiśtāt kaiiā
   ahmāt, auuā manajhā yā vəɾəziiieidiīiiā maŋtā vəstriiā,
   tā tōi iziia, Ahurā Mazdā, darštōiścā hōm.parštōiścā.

7 ā ma [ə]idūm, vahištā, ā x'aii̇iīacā, Mazdā, darəšatcā
   ašā vohū manañhā, yā sruuiē parō magāunō;
   āuuiiō nā aŋtarə həntū nəmax'aitiiš ciûrā rətaiiō.

8 fʁō mōi [fra]uuōizdūm arəbā tā, yā vohū ʃiiauuāi manajhā,
   yasnəm, Mazdā, xšmăuuatō, aṯ vā⁵³ aša ʃtaomi̇iiā vacā.
   dātā vē aməɾətāscā utaiiiiiš hauruuətās draonō.

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⁴⁸ ex versu prior male repetitum: fort. haoməm
⁴⁹ m h: aipi ˢ v
⁵₀ fort. ʔəŋhəi(a)ā
⁵¹ ratuš A s: ratuš B h v
⁵² vərəaiiā Bartholomae
⁵³ F v: và m h E
The Old Avestan Texts

9  aț tōi, Mazdā, tōm mainiiūm așā uxšaiiāntəm\textsuperscript{54} sarəidiiialiə x'ābrə maēθə maiiā vahiišō barətū manaŋhā:
aiiā əroī hákurənəm, yaiiā haciŋtē uruuənō.

10  vışpaș tā\textsuperscript{55} hujitaiiō yā zī ąŋhərə vəscə hənti
yəscə, Mazdā, bauuainti, ūṃahmi hiš zaošē ā�.baxšōhuuā;
vohu uxšiia manaŋhā x'asərə ašəcə uștə tanūm.

11  yə sōuuiištō ahurō Mazdāscə, Ārmaitišcə
Ašəmcə fradat gaēthəm Manascə Vohu Xšaθərmcə,
srɔtə mōi, məọzdaemon mōi ądai kəhiəcɨ\textsuperscript{56} paiti.

12  us mōi [uz]ārauuə, Ahurə, Ārmaiti təuuiišim dasuuə,
spəništə mainiiū, Mazdā, vaŋhuiia zauuô ądā,
asə həzo əmuaui, vohu manaŋhə fərətūm.

13  rafədrəi, vouru.cašənē, dɔiīi mōi yā və ă bihra,\textsuperscript{57}
tə x'asərahiiə, Ahurə, yə vaŋhəuš ašiš manaŋhə;
frō, spoŋtə Ārmaiti, așə daenə [fra]daxšaiiə.

14  aț rātəm Zaraəuštrə tanuuascit x'əxiiə uștanəm
dadaii, pauuuatatəm manaŋhəscə vaŋhəuš Mazdāi
šiiaənəhiiə Ašəiəcə uxďaxiiaćə, sraošəm xšaθərmcə.

\textbf{Yasna 34}

1  yə šiiaənə, yə vaçaŋhə, yə yasnə aməɾətətətəm
ašəmcə təbiio dəŋhə, Mazdā, xšaθərmcə hauruuətətō,
ačəm tōi, Ahurə, əhmə pourutəməi štətə.

2  ațcə i tōi manaŋhə mainiiōušcə vaŋhəuš vışpa dəta
spəntaxiiəcə nərəs šiiaənə, yehiiə uruuə așə həcaitę,
pairi.gaēθə xšməuuatə vahmē, Mazdā, garəbiš stūtəm.

3  aț tōi miiaxəm, Ahurə, nəməŋhə Ašəıcə dəmā
gaeθə vışpa a xšaθrōi, yə vohu šraostə manaŋhə;
əroī zī hudəŋhə vışpəiš, Mazdā, xšməuuasə sauuə.

4  aț tōi ātəm, Ahurə, aoŋhəuasəm așə usəməhə
əştim ōmuaasətəm tōi rapante cįɾa.auuəhəm,
aț, Mazdā, daibišiianətə zastā.ištāiš dəɾəštə.aenəhəm.

\textsuperscript{54} West: așaoxšaiiantə ω
\textsuperscript{55} West: vispə tōi ω
\textsuperscript{56} D E: kəhiəcičt B F ν
\textsuperscript{57} West: abifra ω
A. The Verse Texts

5 kaṭ vō xṣaṭrōm, kā īstīś šiiaouṭnaī,\(^{58}\) Mazdā, hiaṭ ā vō ahmī,\(^{59}\) aṣā vohū mananḏā ēríaoidiiā drigūm yūṣmākoṃ?

"parō vā vispaiš [parē] vaoxmā daeuuāiścā xrafstrāiś maṣiiāiścā."

6 yezi aṭā stā haiṭim, Mazdā AṢā Vohū Manaṇẖā, aṭ tāt mōi daxṣṭom dātā ahiṅẖūš vispā maēṭā, yaḏā vā yazemnascā uruuāidiiā stauuas aienī paiṭī.

7 kuṭrā tōi arēḍrā, Mazdā, yōi vahnḥoṣ vaaṛdēnā mananḏo śōngẖūs raexṇā aspēṇcīt sāḍrācīt caxraiiō uṣourū?

nae.čīm tōm aniiām yūṣmaṭ vaaṛdā aṣā; aṭā nā ūrāzḏūm.

8 tāiś zī nā śiiaouṭṇāiś biaiāntī, yaesīū as paṇīī puruṛiō iūīejo, hiaṭ aṣ.ajō nāiđiiāḥjōm, ōbḥaḥiīā, Mazdā, āstā uruuāṭahiiā;

yōi nōiṣ aṣām mainiiāntā, aebiīō duirē vohū as manō.

9 yōi spoṇṭaṃ ārmaitīm ōbḥaḥiīā, Mazdā, bērōxīṭāṃ vīḍuōo duṣṣiiaouṭṇā auua.zazat vahnḥoṣ āuuiiṭi mananḏo, aebiīōo maš AṢā siiiaḍat, yauuṭa ḍamāṭ\(^{60}\) aurunā xrafstrā.

10 ahiṇẖ vahnḥuoṣ mananḏo śiiaouṭṇā vaocāṭ "gārōbāṃ" huxrauṭuś spoṇṭaṃcā Ārmaitīm, daṃīm vīḍuṇā hīṭaṭ\(^{61}\) Aṣaḥiīā, tācā vīspā, Ahurā, ōbhaṃhiī, Mazdā, xṣaṭrōiī yā\(^{62}\) vōiiāṭrā.

11 aṭ tōi ubē hauruuaasca x’arōṭṭiiā amōreṭatāscā:

Vahnḥuoṣ xraḥbā\(^{63}\) Mananḏo AṢā maṭ Ārmaitīś vaxṣ ṭuiauiūiṭi tōuiiūi: tāiś ā, Mazdā, ṭvīduuaeṣaṃ ōbōi ahī\(^{64}\).

12 kaṭ tōi rázara, kaṭ vāṣī, kaṭ vā stūtō kaṭ vā yasnahiiā?

srūiḍiiāi, Mazdā, frā.ţuuoacā, yā vī.Ďaiiāṭ aṣiś rāṣṇaṃ; sīśā nā aṣā paṭo vahnḥuoṣ x’aiētōng mananḏo:

13 tōm aduuaṇoṃ, Ahurā, yōm\(^{65}\) mōi mraoṣ vahnḥuoṣ mananḏo, daēnā saosiiiaṇṭaṃ vā hū.kōraṭa aṣāṭcī\(^{66}\) uruuaaxṣaṭ hiaṭ cauuiištā hudābiiō mīḏdoṃ, Mazdā, yehiiā tū daṭrōm.

14 tāt zī, Mazdā, vairīm astuuaitē uṣṭānāi dātā vahnḥuoṣ šiiaouṭṇā mananḏo, yōi zī gūṣ vērōzeṇē azzīā:

xṣmākaṃ huciiśtīm, Ahurā, xratouṣ aṣā frādo vērōzeṇā.

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58 m h: -ṇā E: -ṇāiś v
59 West: yaḏā vahmi fere āw (ahmī F dett.)
60 ahmāt D
61 m C: haiṭaṃ D s v: haiṭiāṃ? Geldner
62 West: xṣaṭrōīī a m h s, xṣaṭrōīīa v
63 B: xsaṭrā A h s v
64 vīduuaeṣaṃ Insler, CISION LOOMEL; cf. §300
65 s v: yō m h
66 m D: aṣācīt C s v
Mazdā, at mōi vahištā srauāscā šiiaobhānācā vaocā, 
tā tū vohū mananjhā aṣācā iṣūdēm stūtō:  
xśmākā xśaṁra, Ahurā, fraśōm vasnā haiṁiēm dā ahūm.

Yasna 43

1 uštā ahmāi, yahmāi uštā kahmāciṭ,  
vāsā.xšaiaogs Mazdā dāiiāt Ahurō.  
utaiuiūtī tōuuiśi67 gatōi vasmī,  
aṣōm ṛehrīdīiāi: tāt mōi dā, Ārmaitē,  
rāiiō aṣīi, vaŋhuōu gēṃ mananjhō.  

2 atcā ahmāi vishānəm vahištōm  
xāthrōi ṛnā xāthrōren daidītā,  
ōbhā ciciōbā spānīštā mainiūū, Mazdā,  
yā dā aṣā vaŋhuōu māiīa mananjhō  
vispā aiiarō daragō. jīiātōi uruādaŋhā.  

3 at huūō vaŋhuōu vahiiō nā aibī.jamiāt,  
yā nā orazūs sauvaŋhō paḥō sīsoiṭ  
aihiiā anjhōuș astuuvātō mananjhscā,  
haīṭiiēng āstiṣ, yēṅg ā.śāeītī Ahurō,  
arioḍō ōbāuus huzōntūs spāntō, Mazdā.  

4 at ōbā mōŋghāi taxməmcā spōntōm, Mazdā,  
hīiāt tā zastā, yā66 tū hafśī auuā  
yā dā aṣīs daŋguuiētē aṣāunaēcā  
ōbhāhīīā garōmā aōrō aṣā. aojaŋhō,  
hīiāt mōi vaŋhuōu hazō jimaień mananjhō.  

5 spōntōm at ōbā, Mazdā, mōjhi, Ahurā,  
hīiāt ōbā anjhōuș qaşdūi daresm paaurooūm,  
hīiāt dā šiiaobhā miždaũuŋ yacā uξōa,  
akōm akāi, vaŋyīm aṣīm vaŋhaounuē  
ōbā hunarā dāmōi uruāaeśe apōmē.  

6 yahmī spōntā ōbā mainiūū uruuaaeśe jasō  
mazdā69 xśaṁra, ahmī vohū mananjhā,  
yehiā šiiaobhāniś gaeōbā aṣā frādēntē,  
aeīiōi ratūs sāŋghaitī Ārmaitiś  
ōbhāhiīā xratōuś, yōm naČiś dābaieitī.  

7 spōntōm at ōbā, Mazdā, mōjhi, Ahurā,  
hīiāt mā vohū pairi.jasāt mananjhā  

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

8  at höi aoji “Zaraḥuṣṭrō” pauuruuim;
   “hainṭīō duuāēšā hiaṭ ḫisōīā draguuāītē,
   at aśāunē rafṣnō Ṹiīim aojiŋhhuuōt,
   hiaṭ ā būṣṭiš vasas.xaṭḏrabhīaā diā
   yauuāt ā ṯbā, Mazḍā, staomi uṣiīacā.”

9  spṃṭṃm at ṯbā, Mazḍā, mājhi, Ahurā,
   hiaṭ mā vohū pairī,jaṣaṭ manaṇhā:
   ahiīa frasën “kahmāi vīuūdūīī vaši?,”
   adā23 “ṭbhammāi āḍrē; rāṭam Ṯenaṇhō
   aṣaḥiīā mā, yauuāt isāī, maniiāi.”

10 at tū moī dāiś aṣēm, hiaṭ mā zaoζaοmī;
  ārmaitī hacimnō ʾīṯ ā <a>-rēm,74
     pṛṃsācā nā, yā75 tōi ʾēhmā parṣtā
    (parstēm zi ṯbā yaḥṇēt tāτ īmāuṇtēm),76
    hiaṭ ṯbā xśaiāς aēṃ27 diīāt īmāuṇtēm.

11 spṃṭṃm at ṯbā, Mazḍā, mājhi, Ahurā,
    hiaṭ mā vohū pairī,jaṣaṭ manaṇhā,
    hiaṭ xśmā uξāiś didaiįhē pauuruūim
    (sāḍrā moī sās maʃiiaēšū zrazdaįtiš)
   tāt vorziiieidiiāi, hiaṭ moī maqta vahištēm;

12 hiaṭcā moī mraoʃ “aʃēm jaʃō” frāxšnɵnē,
   at tū moī nōtī aṣruștā pairī.aoγžā,
   uz.iroiδiāi parā hiaṭ moī ā jimaṭ
   Sraoʃō Aṣi maqžā.raiia hacimnō,
   yā78 vi aʃiš rānòiβiiā79 sauωoi [vi]dāiiat.

13 spṃṭṃm at ṯbā, Mazḍā, mājhi, Ahurā,
   hiaṭ mā vohū pairī,jaṣaṭ manaṇhā


70  daxšārō Insler
71  forasiiā m
72  tanuśucā Bartholomae tanuusicā Insler
73  adā Insler, aḍā A: at ā ceteri
74  < > Bartholomae
75  fort. yā <ā>, cf. §300
76  īmāuṇtēm C v. fort. īsοṇtēm
77  h v. aेः(o)mēm m s
78  yō m
79  C dett.: rānōibiiō m D s v
arəthā vōizdiīāī kāmahīā tōm mōi dātā
daraŋeviīā yaoš, yōm vā naē.čiš dāršt itē,
vairiīā stōī, yā ûbəhmī xʃaþrōi vācī.

14 hīiaŋ nā firiāī vādēmnō iusuā dait,\nmaibīō, Mazdā, tōuā rafanō frāxšnənəm,\nhīiaŋ ûbə xʃaþrā ašāŋ hacā fr<a> qštā,\nuz.irdīiīāī azō sardānā səŋghahiīā\nmat tāiš vispāiš yōi tōi məfrā maṙēntī.

15 spənəm aṯ ûbə, Mazdā, mōjši, Ahurā,\nhīiaŋ mā vohū pāri.jarāṯ manaŋhā:\ndaxšāṯ ušiīai tušnā.maitiš vahiştā.
ñoiŋ nā pōruš drēguuatō xiiāṯ cixšnušō;\naṯ tōi vispāŋ angrāŋ aʃaunō ādarō.

16 aṯ Ahurā, huuō māniiūm Zaraŋuštrō\nvərəntē, Mazdā, yas.tē cišcā spēništō.\nastuuaṯ Ašem xiiāṯ uštānā aojōŋhuuαt;\nx'ōŋg dārəsōi xʃaþrōi⁽⁸⁰⁾ xiiāṯ Armaitiš;\našim⁽⁸¹⁾ šiaoaŋnaiš vohū dait manaŋhā.

**Yasna 44**

1 taṯ ûbə pərəsā, orōš mōi vaocā, Ahurā,\nnəmanjhō ā, yaθā nəmō xšmāu fratō;\nMazdā, friiāi ûbəuaŋ saxiīāṯ mauvaitē.\nat nē ašā firiā dazdiiāi hākurənā,\nyəθā nō ā vohū jimaṯ manaŋhā.

2 taṯ ûbə pərəsā, orōš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:\nkaθā aŋhōuš vahiştahiiā paourruuim\nkəθə suđiiāi yō ā pait<i> ĩšət?\nhuuō zi ašā spənō iriştəm vispōiibiiō\nhārō māniiū həum.biš uruuāθō, Mazdā.

3 taṯ ûbə pərəsā, orōš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:\nkas.nā ʒaθā ptā Ašahiīa paouruiiō⁽⁸²⁾\nkas.nā x'ōŋg strōmcā dāṯ aduənəm?\nkō yā⁽⁸³⁾ mā uʃšiiieitī nərōfsaiti ûbət?\ntācīt, Mazdā, vasmī aniiācā viduiiiē.

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80 fort. xʃaþrā
81 m h v: ašem s
82 paouruiiē m
83 fort. yā <ā>, cf. §300
A. The Verse Texts

4 taṭ ūḍā poreśā, orēś mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
ekas.nā dārōtā qāmcā adō nabāscā
auua.pastōiš? kā apō uruūārāscā?
kā vātā\(^84\) duuṇmaibīiascā yaogōt āsū?
kas.nā vaṅghūš, Mazdā, dāmiś manaŋhō?

5 taṭ ūḍā poreśā, orēś mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
kō hhuāpā raocāscā dāt toṃscā?
kō hhuāpā x'aṅṅomcā dāt zaēmācā?
kō yā ušā arēm.piūḍā xśāpācā,
yā manaōthriś cazdōŋhuănantm arōḍahiiā?

6 taṭ ūḍā poreśā, orēś mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
yā fra.uuanxiiā yezī tā aṭā haińiiā,
“aşām śiaoaṭnāiś dēbazăitī ārmaitiś,
taibiiō xśaṭrēm vohū cīnas manaṅhā,”
kačiibiiō azīm rāṅṇiō.skōrōtīm gām tāśō?

7 taṭ ūḍā poreśā, orēś mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
kō borōxōm tāśt xšaṭrā maṭ ārmaitūm?
kō uzōmām cōṛāt viiānaiīā puṭrēm piūřē?
azōm tāiś ūḍā fraṃšīū avuāmi, Mazdā,
spōntā mainiīū vīspanaṃ dātārēm.

8 taṭ ūḍā poreśā, orēś mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
mōn.dādiīiāi yā tōi, Mazdā, ādiśtiś
yācā vohū uxfā drafšī manaṅhā
yācā aṣā ahēuš arēm vačiidiīā\(^85\)
kā mō uruūā vohū uruūāxšāṭ ā.gmatā?

9 taṭ ūḍā poreśā, orēś mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
kaḍā mōi, yām yaoš daṛṇam [yaoʒ]dānē,
tām\(^86\) huḍānauo pāitiś saxiiīā tšaṭrahiiā
orōśuūa xšaṭrā, ūḍāuuaš aš.ištiś, Mazdā,
hadēmōi aṣā vohucā śiiās manaṅhā?

10 taṭ ūḍā poreśā, orēś mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
tām daṛṇaṃ, yā hātam vahiśtā
(yā mōi gāṭhā aṣā frādōiṭ hacieṃnā),
ārmaitiś uxdāiś śiaoaṭnā orēś daṇnīiṭ?
maśiiā cistolī ūḍā ištiś usān, Mazdā.

11 taṭ ūḍā poreśā, orēś mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
kaḍā tēng ā vi.jēmiiāt ārmaitiś,

\(^{84}\) m C v. vā(.j)āiš D s
\(^{85}\) m C: -diiāi D E v, -diīiā F
\(^{86}\) West: yām ω
yaēibiō, Mazdā, ūbōi vašīietē daēnā?
azām tōi āiš paouruiiē87 fra.uuuiuudē;
vīspōng aniiōng mainiūōī spasiā dūuāēsānēhā.

12 taṭ ūbā pērōsā, orēš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
 kā ašuunā, yāiš pērōsāi, druguuā vā?
katārēm ā, āiēm88 vā huuō vā angrō?
“yō mā druguuā ūbā sauūā paitī.ōrētē
cīaŋhaṅt, huuō, nōišt āiēm, angrō mainiīetē.”

13 taṭ ūbā pērōsā, orēš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
kaūā Drujēm niš ahmaṯ ā [niš] nāšāmā
tōng ā auuā, yōi asruštōiš pērōnāhō
nōišt āsahiiā ā.diuuiicēnti hacōnā,89
nōišt frasaiiā vaŋhāuō cāxnarē manaŋhō?

14 taṭ ūbā pērōsā, orēš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
kaūā Ašā90 Drujēm diiām zastaiīō,
nī hīm mōqāḏdīiā ūbahiiā māṯrāiš sōnghahiīā,
ōmāuaitīm sīnaṃ dāuūō drugguusā,
ā āś duuāfšōng, Mazdā, [ā] nāšē qṭaścā?

15 taṭ ūbā pērōsā, orēš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
yēzi ahiīā ašā, pōi maṯ, ūšaiiēhi,
hīaṯ hōm spādā anaocānēhā jamaētē
auuāiš uruuaṭtīiš yā tū, Mazdā, dīdērēžō,
kūrā aiiā, kahmāi vananām dadā?

16 taṭ ūbā pērōsā, orēš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
kā vērōṯrōm, jā ūbā pōi sōnghā, yōi hōntī—
cīrā mōi dām—ahūm.biś? ratūm cīḏū,
at hōi vohū sraošō jēntū manaŋhā,
Mazdā, ahmāi yahmāi vašī kahmāicīt.

17 taṭ ūbā pērōsā, orēš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
kaūā [Mazdā]91 zārōm cārānī hacā xšmaṯ
āskētīm xšmākām, hīaṭcā mōi xiīāt vāxš aēśō
sarōi būḏdīiāi hauruuātā amōrētātā
auuā māṯrā, yō rāṯomō ašāt hacā?

18 taṭ ūbā pērōsā, orēš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
kaūā ašā taṭ mīḏdōm hanānī,
dasā aspā arṣ̌ənuuaṇitṣ̌ ušṭromc̣ā,
hiiat möi mazdā api. uuaitī, hauruuaṭā amoṛ[tātā, yaʔa hi taibii92 dāṇhā?

19 taʔ ŭbā pəṛəsā, ěṛəṣ̌ möi vaocā, Ahurā:
yas.taʔ miẓdam hanaṇtē nōiʔ daịtī,
yō ʔ i ahmāı ěṛəzh. ux̣dā93 nā daïtē,
kā tām ahiiā maeṇiṣ̌ aṣat94 paouurii̇ē?
vīduu̇a auu̇q̣m, yā ʔ īm aṣat98 apōmā.

20 ciṭnā, Mazdā, hux̣aṭrā daeuu̇ā ʔṇharō—
aʔ iḥ pəṛəsā—yōi piśiiĉiṇṭī aēibiō kām,
yāiš gəm Karōpā Usixšcā aēsmāï dātā,
yācā Kauu̇a ānqụnē96 urūdōiiaṭā?
nōiṭ hım mīzān așā vāstrēm frādaijēh.

Yasna 45

1 aṭ fra.uuaxšiāː nū guṣ́dūm, nū sraotā,
yaeccā asnāţ yaecādurāţ ʔiʃaʔā;
nū īm vispā, ciṭṛē zi, maz.dāṇhōdūm,
nōiṭ daibítulo dușsastīś ahūm merqšiitā akā varōnā, dṛgguu̇a hizuu̇97 ā.uu̇roṭō.

2 aṭ fra.uuaxšiā aʔhōuś Mainiīu paouurii̇ē,
yaiiā spaniitā uűtū mrauuat yōm angrōm:
“nōiṭ nā mana, nōiṭ sōnghā, nōiṭ xratuuūo,
naedā varōnā, nōiṭ ux̣dā, naedā šiiaobnā,
nōiṭ daēnā, nōiṭ uruuʔnō hacainṭē.”

3 aṭ fra.uuaxšiā aʔhōuś ahiiā paouurring, yā98 mōi viduu̇a Mazdā vaocaʔ Ahurō.
yōi īm vē nōiṭ iʔdā99 maθrrēm varoʃəntī yaʔa īm mōnāicā vaocacā,
aēibiō aʔhōuś auuōi aʔhaṭ apōmōm.

4 aṭ fra.uuaxšiā aʔhōuś ahiiā vahištēm așāt haca; Mazdā100 vaedā yā īm dāt,
ptarām vaŋhāuš varəzaiāntō Manāŋhō; aṯ āḥī dugdā hušiiaōnā Ārmaitiš. nōi ḏīḏzaidiīāi vispā. hišas Ahurō.

5 aṯ fra uuaxšiā, hīaṯ mōi mraṯ spəntōtəmō, vacā srūdiiāi hīaṯ marətāeibiiō vahištəm; yōi mōi ahmāi sraošəm dān caiaascā, upā.jiṃən hauruuātā amərətātā: vaŋhāuš mainiišuš šiiaōnaiš mazdā Ahurō.

6 aṯ fra uuaxšiā vishpaṃ mazištəm, stuuas aşā, yō hudā yōi haŋtūi: spəntā mainiūi sraotū Mazdā Ahurō. yehiia vahmē Vohū frašī Manəŋhā, ahiia xratū frō mā sāstū vahištā.

7 yehiia suuər išāŋti rādāŋhō yōi zī juuə ḏəhərəcā buaunticā— amərətəiīi aşāunō uruua aşēə utaiiūtā, yā norəš sādə drəgwaatō; tācā xšaṭra Mazdā dəmiš Ahurō—

8 tēm nō staotāiš nəmənəhō ā vīuuarəšō nū z<ī> ḏ cašmainī vi. adərəsəm, vaŋhāuš mainiūiš šiiaōnaiiš uxdaxiiačā vīduuš aşā, yēm Mazdəm Ahurəm; aṯ hōi vahməŋ domānē garō ni.dəmā;

9 tēm nō Vohū maṯ Manəŋhā cixšnušō, yō nō usən cōrət spənçə aspənçə, mazdā xšaṭrā; varəzī nā diuət Ahurō pasūš virōng ahmākōng fradaβaiiš vaŋhəuš aşā haozgüβat ā manəŋhō;

10 tēm nō yasnaiiš ārmatōiš mimaŋʒō, yō ţəməni Mazdā srəuui Ahurō. hīiaṯ hōi aşā vohucā coišt manəŋhā, xšərōi hōi hauruuātā amərətātā ahmāi stōi dān, taauiiš utaiiūtīi.

11 yas.tā dāeuuəŋ aparō maʃiiəscā tarō. maʃtə yōi ţm tarō mainiiəntə (aniŋəng ahmət, yō hōi arəm mainiiəntə), saošșiəntə dōŋ patoš spəntə daənə uruuəβə brətə ptv væ, Mazdā Ahurō.

100 A s H: mazdā B h G
Yasna 46

1. kamu nâmôi zâm, kuôrâ nâmôi aïiene?
   pairî x'âêtôûsh airiiamnascâ dadaiti;
   nôït mâ x'snâûs, yâ vœrôzôna hôcâ,
   naëdâ daxïiûs yôi sâstârô drâguantô.
   kaôì ûbâ, Mazdâ, x'snaosai, Ahûrâ?

2. vaëdâ taït yâ ahmi, Mazdâ, anaësô:
   mâ kamna.f'ûûah hiaïçâ kamnâ.nâ ahmi.
   gærzôi tôi: ad l'ïvaënâ, Ahûrâ,
   rafôrôm caguûa hiaï frîiô frïiai daidit:
   â.xsö vâñhôus ažâ ištîm mananôhô.

3. kadâ, Mazdâ, yôi ux'sânô asnâm
   añhôus darôrôi frô așahiîa [fr']arônté
   vœrôzdaii sânghâiïi, saosìiaôam xratauuô?
   kaëibiïiô úôîi vohû jiïat mananôhâ?
   maibiïiô ûbâ sàstrai vœrôë, Ahûrâ.

4. ât tông drâguuâ yông așahiîiâ vâzdrâng påt
   gâ frôrôtôiï ñoî'ûrahîiïa vû daxïiûs vû,
   duçazôbâ hâs, x'âaii ñiiaõônaii ai ahûmûstô.
   yas.têm x'âûðràç, Mazdâ, móïiçâ jiïätôûs vû,
   hûû tông frô gâ paðmônç hucîstoiï çaraç.

5. yô vû x'saii'â ã dàmôxô dàta aiianôm
   uruûûtôïi vû hûzôntuâ miôrôôibiiô vû,
   ràsnâ jûuâs, yô așauûa drâguuânôm,
   viçîrô hâs, taït frô x'âëtauùu mrûiïaç
   uz.ûiûîiô im, Mazdâ, x'rûnîiçaç, Ahûrâ.

6. ât yas.têm noït nà isêmô ô à å.iâît.
   Drûjô huûô dàmâm haeû'îhîiâ gat;
   huûô zî drâguuâ, yô drâguuâîtê vahïstô,
   huûô așauûa, yahmiô așauûa frîiô,
   hiaït daënô paouûiïi dà, Ahûrâ.

7. kâm.nà, Mazdâ, mauaïtê pâiïûm dâdâ,
   hiaït mâ drâguuâ didarêstût aënhûhê,
   aniiôm ûbâhmat âôrascâ mananôhascâ,
   yaiiâ ñiiaõônaiiô ašôm êraôstô, Ahûrâ?
   tâm moi dàstuuûa daënîiïi frû.uuaoçâ.

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101 tôi <à> Kuiper
102 West (à dà Thieme): adâs ò
yā vā mōi yā gaētha dazdē aēnajhē, nōiṯ ahīiā mā ābriš šīiaōnāiš frā asiiāṯ; paitiiāogāṯ tā ahmāi jasōiṯ duuaēšaŋhā tanuuām ā, yā im hujiīātōiš pāiiaṯ, nōiṯ duūjīiātōiš; kāčiṯ, Mazdā, duuaēšaŋhā.

kē huuū, yā mā arēdrō cōiṯāṯ paouruiiō, yaḏā ōḏā zauuīšītm uz.āmōhī, šīiaōnāiš spāntēm, Ahūrēm āšauuanēm? yā tōi Ašā, yā Ašāi gōuš tašā mraoṯ, išvīti mā tā tōi vohū manaŋhā?

yā vā mōi nā gēnā vā, Mazdā Ahūrā, dāiiāṯ aŋhōuš yā tū vōištā vahištā, ašim ašāi, vohū xšaērom manaŋhā, yāscā haxšāi xšmāuuatm vahmāiīā, frō tāiš vispāiš Cīnuuatō [fra]frā pērētūm.

xšaʔrāiš yūjēn Karapānō Kāuuaiašcā 
aḵāiš šīiaōnāiš ahūm mōrēngoidiīāi mašīm; yēng xē ūruuā x'ēcā xraodaṯ daēnā, hīiāt aibi.gemēn yafrā Cīnuuatō pērētuš, yauuōi vispāi Drūjō domānē astāiō.

hīiāt us ašā naptiiaēšū nafšucā Tūrāhiiā [uz]jēn Friiānahiīā aojiiaēšū ārmatoiš gaētha frādō ōḏbaxšaŋhā, at īš vohū hēm aibi.mōist manaŋhā ačibīiō rafēʔrāi Mazdā sastē Ahūrō.

yā Spītāmēm Zaraʔuštrēm rádaŋhā 
martaešū xšnāuš, huuū nā fra.srūidiīāi ərēbō. at hōi Mazdā ahūm dādēt Ahūrō; ahmāi gaēthā vohū frādēt manaŋhā; tēm vē Ašā mēhmaidī hušhaxāīm.

“Zaraʔuštrā, kas.tē ašauuā uruuaōdō mazōi magāi? kē vā fra.srūidiīāi vaštī?” at huuū kauuā Vištāspō, yā <a>hī. yōngs.tū, Mazdā, hadēmōi minaš, Ahūrā, tōng zbiiaṯ vaŋhōuš uxdāiš manaŋhō.

Haēcaž.aspā, vaxšiīā vō, Spītāmāhē: hīiāt dáuēŋ vī caiaiaṯa adāḏascā,

103 Humbach: forōsiiāt vel fraōsiiāt librī
104 Insler: domānāi ə
105 < > Insler
tāiš yūś šīiaoṯnāiš aḵem xšmaibiḏādaduiiē,\(^{106}\)
yāiš dātáïš paouruiiāiš Ahurahiiā

16 Frašaοstāra, aṯrā tū arədrāiš idi,
Huuōguuā, tāiš yōng usuuahi uštā stōi,
ยาvrā ašā hacaïte ārmaitiš,
यārā vaŋhāuš manaŋḥō ištā xšaθraṃ,
यारा Mazdā vəradourom ūaetī Ahurō,

17 yaθā vē aʃmāni sōŋhāni,
ṇōiṭ analphašmā, Dājangošpa Huuōguuā,
hadā vē stōi\(^{107}\) vahmōṅg sraošā rādaŋhō,
yō vī.cinaot dāθōmcā aθōmcā
daŋrā maŋtū Ašā, Mazdā Ahurō.

18 yō maibiĩy yaoš, ahmāi ascīt vahišṭā
māxiĩi ištōiš vohū cōišem manaŋhā,
aştēng ahmāi yō nā aštāi daidītā,
Mazdā Ašā, xšmākm vārm xšnaošamnō;
tat mōi xraṭšuš manaŋhāscā vī.cīthəm.

19 yō mōi ašαt haiθīm hacā vəradoitī
Zaraŋuštṛāi hiitā vasnā fraŋtəməm,
ahmāi mīzdo manŋtē parā.<a>hūm
manō.vistāiš maṭ vispāiš, gāuuā azį;
tacīt mōi sās tuuēm, Mazdā, vaēdištō.

Yasna 47

1 spəntā mainiiu vahištācā manaŋhā
hacā aṣαt šiiaothnācā vacaŋhācā
ahmāi dən hauruuatā amərōtātā;
mazdā xšaθrā Ārmaitī Ahurō.

2 ahiiã maniiuš spəništahiiā vahištōm
hizuuah uxdāiš vaŋhāuš ōaṇnū manaŋhō,
ārmatoiš zastōiiιi šiiaothnā vərəziiaṭ,
oiia cistī, “huuō pțа Ašahiīā Mazdā”.

3 ahiiã maniiuš tuuēm ahı <p>tā spəntō,
yō ahmāi gaṃ raniɵ.skərətīm həm.taṣaŋ,
aʃ hiōi vəstrāi rāmA dā ārmaitīm,
hiit həm Vohū, Mazdā, [həm]fraṣtā Manaŋhā.

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106 dāduiiē Hoffmann–Forssman 227
107 West: vəstā h s v. vistā m
4 ahmāt mainiiūš rārašīicintī drāguuāntō, 
Mazdā, spēntā; nōi tī ḍāhā ašauuanō. 
akṣūsčit nā ašauuē kāṭō anhaṭ, 
isuuačit ḍaṣ paraoš akō drāguuāité.

5 tācā spēntā mainiiū, Mazdā Ahurā, 
ašauuē coīš yā zi cīcā vahištā; 
hanaro ṯēbahmāt zaošaṭ drāguuā baxšaitī, 
ahiā śiiaoaṅnaś akāt ā śiiaş manaṅhō.

6 tā dā spēntā mainiiū, Mazdā Ahurā, 
āūrā vanjhāu vi.dāitim rānōibiiā 
ārmātiś dēbaṇaṇēhā aṣaxīiācā; 
hā zī pourūś iṣaṅtō vāurāitē.

Yasna 48

1 yezi aṭ āiś109 Ašā Drujēm vāṅghaitī, 
hīaṭ ḗaṣașutā110 yā daibitānā fraotātā 
amārteiūtī daeuwaścā mašīiāścā, 
aṭ tōi sauwaśv vahmōm vaxšaṭ, Ahurā.

2 vaocā mōi ā111—tuuōm vīduuā, Ahurā— 
parā hīaṭ mā yāmōng112 pēreṭā jimaite: 
kaṭ ašauuā, Mazdā, vāṅghāt drāguuāntōm? 
hā zī aŋhōuś vāŋhī vistā ā.kēreṭīś.

3 aṭ vaēdamnāi vahištā sāsnaṇām, 
yam hudā sāstī aśā ahurō, 
spēntō, vīduuā yaecīt gužrā sōnghāḥḥō, 
ṭhāuaṇā, Mazdā, vaṇhōuś xraṭbā manaṅhō.

4 yā dāt manō vahiiō, Mazdā, aśīiscā, 
huūd daēṇmā śiiaoaṅnacă vacaṇhācă, 
ahiiā zaosēṅg uštē varēnēng hacaite; 
ṭbahrē xratāu apēmēm nanā aŋhāṭ.

5 huxšaṭrā xšēntām—mā nā dušxšaṭrā xšēntă— 
vāṃhuiō cistōiś śiiaoaṅnāiś, Ārmaitē. 
yaoz.dā mašīiāi aipī zāṃmēm vahištā 
gaaūōi vorōziātām: tām nō x'arēḍăi fśuiō.

108 m s: aḥā h v
109 Insler, Narten: adaiś ω (akaiś B)
110 fort. qaṣṭ tā
111 Kuiper: mōi yā ω
112 Insler: yā mōng ω
A. The Verse Texts

6 há zí [nā] huṣōiḏ̣emā,113 há nō utaiūītī114 dāt ṭauuiśi115 vaŋhauś maŋāhō boraṅdē; aṯ aḵiḏāi aḵā Mazdā uruuraṅ vaxṣaṭ Ahurō aŋhauś zaḏoi paouroieihīā.


8 kā tōi vaŋhauś, Mazdā, xṣaṅrahiiā īštīś? kā tōi ašōiš ūbāxiāi maibiiō, Ahurā? kā ḫīōi, Aṣā ākā ardrōṅg īštīā, vaŋhauś maṇiṅi南沙 ūśiaṅāṇaṁ jaŭuarō?

9 kaṭ ā116 vaēdā, yezī cahiīā xṣaiiābā, Mazdā Aṣā, yehīiā mā āiḏīś duuaēḏā? ʿerēs mōī [ʿerēž]ucaṅ vaŋhauś vaḵaṁ maŋāhō; vidīiāt saosiiias, yaḏā hōi aṣīṅ aşhaṭ.

10 kadā, Mazdā, maṇaɾōiś narō vīsonṭā?117 kadā aˌjōn mūṛṛēṃ aḥiīā maḍahīiā, yā angraiīā Karpoṇo urūpáiieintī yācā xratū duṅṣaṅṅ̄ā daxiūnaṁ?

11 kadā, Mazdā, Aṣā maṭ Ārmaitiś jimaṭ xṣaṅṅ̄ā huṣōišīī vāstrauuaiti? kōi drēguuōōdēiī xṛūraiś rāmām dāṅtē? kōṅg ā vaŋhauś jimaṭ maŋaṅhō cistiś?

12 aṭ tōi aṅhēn saosiiiaṅtō daxiūnaṁ, yōī xšūn vohū maṇaṅhā hacāṅtē šiaṅāṅnaiī aṣā ḫīahīiā, Mazdā, sōṅghahīiā; tōi zī dātā hamaeṡāṅrō āešmahīiā.

Yasna 49

1 aṭ má yauuā bōnduuo pafṛē mazištō, yō duṣaṛoṛīš cixšnuśā aṣā, Mazdā. Vaŋhya Ādā, gaiḍi móī, ā móī [a]rapā: aḥiīā vohū aośō vīḍā maṇaṅhā.

113 [] Lommel hu- s: u- m h v
114 s: utaiūūtīm m h v
115 dett.: taṃuṣīṃ m h s v
116 s: kadā m h H: kaṭā G
117 vīsoṇṭā A: -ntē Bh E, -ṇtī F
2 aṭ ahiā mā bōnduahiiā mānaiieiti tkaēšō drōguā daibitā aṣāt rārōšō:
nōiṭ spəntəm dörəšt ahmāi stōi Ārmaitim, naēdā Vohū, Mazdā, fraštā Manaṇhā.

3 aṭcā ahmāi varənāi, Mazdā, ni.ḍətəm ašəm sūdiāi, tkaēšāi rāšaiieṭhē druxš.
tā118 vənhōuš sarō iziiai manaṇhō; aṇtərō vispōng droguuatuţ haxmōŋ [aṇtərō] mruuiē.

4 yōi duşxaṭbā aēşməm varədan rəməmcā119 x'āiš huzubiš, fšuiiasū afšuiianṭo, yaēšam nōiṭ huuarrāštāi vās dūzuarəštā, tōi daēuuuŋ dān, yā drōguuatuţ daēnā.

5 aṭ huuō, Mazdā, iḍcā əzūtišcā, yā daēnām vohū sārštā manaṇhā, ārmatoiš kasciṭ ašā huzūntuš, tāišcā vispāiū ūbəhmi xəaṭrōi, Ahurā.

6 frō vā [fra]išiiai, Mazdā Ašemcā, mruiṭe, yā vē xratōus xəməkahiiā ā manaṇhā, ṥəeš vī.cidiiai, yaṭā į srauuaiiaēmā tām daēnām yā xəməuuatuō, Ahurā.

7 taṭcā vohu, Mazdā,120 sraotū manaṇhā, sraotū ašā: gũšahuuţ tū, Ahurā: kō ariiamā, kō x'aētuus dātāiš ṣhāt, yā vərəznānāi vaŋ'hiṃ dāt frasastim?

8 Frašaoštṛāi uruuəziištəm ašahiiā dā sarəm—taṭ ūbə, Mazdā, yāsā, Ahurā—maibiiacā, yəm vənhau ūbəhmi ā xəaṭrōi; yauuōi vispāi fraesstənhō ṣhāmā.

9 sraotū sāsnā fʃəhiiō suiie taštō—nōiṭ õrəš.vacā sarəm didəs drōguuātā—hiaaṭ daēnā vahiistē yūjōn mizdē ašā yuxtā yāhī Dējəməspā.

10 taṭcā, Mazdā, ūbəhmi ā dām ni.ṇəjhē: manō vohu urunascā aṣaunəm nəməcā, yā ārmaitiš iḍcā məqz.xəaṭrō vazdaṇhā ūauaūmīrā.

118 fort. tā <ā>, cf. §300
119 Insler: rəməmcā ω
120 Mazdā Westergaard
A. The Verse Texts

11 at duśxṣaṛṝṛṅg duśṣiiāoṇṅṅg dužuuacāṅhb
duždaṇṇṅṅg dušmanaṇṅhb drāguuattō
akaṅṅ ṣ'arṇṭāiṅ paitī uruṇāṅṅ [paiti]yeiṅti;
Drūjō dēmāṅṅe haiṅṭīā aṅhēṅ astāiṅō.

12 kaṅ tōī aṅṅ ṣbaieṅṭē auuaṅhb
Zaraṭuṣṭrāṅī? kaṅ tōī vohū manaṅhb,
yē vō staotāiṅ, Mazdā, frīṅāi, Ahurā,
auuaṭ yāsās, hīiāṭ vō iṅṭā vahīṣṭōm?

Yasna 50

1 kaṅ mōī uruua ēcē cahiṅṅ auuaṅhb?
kō mōī pasōuś, kō mōṅā ūrātā viṅṭō
anīiō aṅṅ ṣbāṭācā, Mazdā Ahurā,
aḍāā zūtā, vahīṣṭāaṅcā manaṅhb?

2 kaṅā, Mazdā, rāniiō.skṛṛtēm gāṃ iṅsōiṅ,
yē hīṁ ahmāi vāstrauiṅtiṃ stōi usiṅti,
orāż.jiṅ aṅṅ pōruuṅ huuarā pīśiāṅśū?
akāṅ tōṅg121 mā niṅ āsīiā, dāṅōṁ dāhuuā.

3 atcīt ahmāi, Mazdā, aṅṅ ṣṇhaiti,
yāṃ hōī xṣaṅṛā vohucā cōiṅst manaṅhb,
yō nā aṅṅōiṣ aojaṅhb vārṇḍaiiāṅtā,
yāṃ nazdiśṭām gāṅṭām dṛṛguuā baxśaṅtī.

4 at vō yazāī staauuas, Mazdā Ahurā,
ḥadā aṅṅ vahīṣṭācā manaṅhb
xṣaṅṛācā yā iṅō stāṅḥaṭ ā paiṅti;
āṅkā arṇdrōṅg dēmāṅṅe garō sraośāṅe.

5 ārōṅ zi xsmā, Mazdā Aṅṅ Ahurā,
hīiāṭ yūśmāṅkāi māṅṛāṅṅe vauṛārzāṅbā
āiṅi.iṅ:rōṅtā auuṅiīiā auuṅhb
zastā.iṅtā, yā nā x'āṅrē dāiṅt,

6 yō māṅrā vācōṃ, Mazdā, baraiti
uruuāṅṅ o aṅṅ nāmaṅhb, Zaraṭuṣṭrō.
dātā xraṭūuṅ, hizuuṅ raiṅtīm stōi
mahīiā, rāżōṅg vohū sāiṅt manaṅhb.

7 at vō yaojā zauuṅiśtiieṅg auruuuātō,
jaiṅiṅ pṛṝṛtūś122 vrahmahiṅīīī yūśmākaṅhbīā,

121 Insler: ākā(.c)tōṅg h s v, ādā stōṅg m
122 m s: poruṭūś h v: caedem v.ii. Y. 64. 3
Mazdā Ašā,  uğrēng vohū manaŋhā, 
yāiš <z>azâðā:<sup>123</sup> mahmāi xiātā auuaŋhē.

8 | maţ vā padāiš yā fra.srūtā ĭżaiiā
   | pairi.jasāı, Mazdā, ustānā.zastō,
   | aţ vā ašā araedraxiiačā namanŋhā,
   | aţ vā vaŋhōuš manaŋhō hunarētētā.

9 | tāiš vā yasnāiš paitē stauuas aiienī,
   | Mazdā Ašā, vaŋhōuš šiiaotnaĩiš manaŋhō.
   | yadā ašoiš maxiiaš vasō xšaiiā,
   | aţ hudānaos išaiiaš gorēzdā xiiōm.

10 | aţ yā varēša yācā pairī ľiš šiiaotnā
   | yācą vohū cašmām araţaţ manaŋhā,
   | raocā x'ēng, usnām usx̱a aēuruš,
   | xšmākāi ašā vahmāī, Mazdā Ahurā.

11 | aţ vē staotā aojāī, Mazdā, anhācā,
   | yauuaţ ašā tauačā isāicā.
   | dātā anhōuš araedat vohū manaŋhā
   | haiiia.varštām, hīaţ vasnā frašōtomēm?

### Yasna 51

1 | vohū xšaûrēm vairīm, bāgēm aibī.bairištēm
   | vidišēmnaĩi<sup>124</sup> īţācīt; ašā anţara.caraitī
   | šiiaotnaĩiš, Mazdā, vahištēm: taţ nō nuscīt varēšānē.

2 | tā vē, Mazdā, paouruiiīm, Ahurā, Așāiiecā
   | taibiiačā, Ārmaitē, dōiš mōi ištōiš xšaûrēm;
   | xšmākēm vohū manaŋhā vahmāi dāidī sauuaŋhō.

3 | ā vē gūsē hēm.iaŋtu, yōī vē šiiaotnaĩiš sāraŋtē,
   | Ahurā<sup>125</sup> Ašā, hizuua<sup>126</sup> usdāiš vaŋhōuš manaŋhō,
   | yaešam tū paouruiiō, Mazdā, fra.daxshā ahī.

4 | kuţrā ārōiš ā fsōratuš, kuţrā mərəţdikā<sup>127</sup> ā xštaţ?
   | kuţrā yaso.xiiēn aşem? kū spēntā ārmaitiš?
   | kuţrā manō vahištēm? kuţrā ūbā xšaţrā, Mazdā?

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<sup>123</sup> < > Humbach
<sup>124</sup> m D: -mnaiš C s v
<sup>125</sup> West: ahuro ā
<sup>126</sup> B h: hizuuo A: hizuua s v
<sup>127</sup> m C s: -kāi D v
A. The Verse Texts

5 vispā tā pārhā,\textsuperscript{128} yaśā aśāt hacā gama vīdaṭ
vāstria Šiaioânaiaiš ēroșuuo, hās humratuš, nêmaŋhā,
yō dābhāeibīiō ēroș.ratūm xšaiiąs ašiïa\textsuperscript{129} cistā.

6 yō vahiio vāŋhāuś dazdē, yascā hōi vārāi rādaṭ,
Ahurō xšafrā mazdā; aṭ ahnāi ākāṭ ašiio,
yō hōi noīt vīdaṭi, apāmē anŋhōuś uruuaēsē.

dādī mōi, yō gama taśō apasća uruuaārascā,
amērētātā hauruuaātā spēništā mainīiū, Mazdā,
tōuuiši utaiiiutīi manaŋhā vohū sóŋhē.

8 aṭ zī toī vaxšiia, Mazdā—vidušē zī nā mruiiāṭ—
hīaṭ akōi ā\textsuperscript{130} dręguuaātē, uṣṭā yō ašōm dādrē
huūō zī maŋhrā šiīātō, yō vidošē mrauuaātī)

9 yam xšnātōm rānoiiāiā dā ḍōrā āfrā suxrā, Mazdā,
aiiŋhā xšutā, aibī ahuuāhū daxśhēm dāuuōi,
rāšaiiējēhē dręguuaāntōm, sauuiiio ašōuuaānōm.

10 aṭ yō mā nā marōxšaitē aniiāthā ahmāt, Mazdā,
huūō dāmōiś drūjō hunuš; tā duźdā, yōi hēntū.
maibiiō zbiaiīa ašōm vāŋhuuiiā aši gatē.

11 kō uruuaāṭō Spītamā\textsuperscript{131} Zaraθuṣtrāi nā, Mazdā?
kō vā Ašā afrāstā\textsuperscript{132} kā spoŋtā ārmāitiś?
kō vā vāŋhăuś manaŋhō acistā magāi ēroșuuo?

12 noīt tā im xšnāuś vaēpiō kĕuuiiō pĕrēṭā zimō
Zaraθuṣṭrēm Spītamēm, hīaṭ ahmi urūraost aštō,
hīaṭ hōi i[m]\textsuperscript{133} caratasća aodērēścā zośišnū vázā.

13 tā dręguuatō marādātī daēnā ēroząoś haiţim;
yehiiō uruua xraodāti Cinuuaātō pĕrētā ākā,
x’aiś Šiaioânaīiš hizuuascā ašahiīa nāsuuā paǒō.

14 noīt uruuaāṭā dātōibiiiascā Karēpaṇō vāstrāt arēm,
gauuōi āroiś a.sōndā x’aiś Šiaioânaīscā sōŋgāiiścā;
yō iś sōŋghō apōmēm Drūjō dēmānē ā.dāṭ.

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\textsuperscript{128} West: pārōṣaṃ ω
\textsuperscript{129} aśiā E: ašauuā m F: ašiuuā h G
\textsuperscript{130} akōiāω
\textsuperscript{131} spitamāii<ā> Beekes
\textsuperscript{132} det.: āfraštā m h v, ā.fraštā s
\textsuperscript{133} [ ] Inslēr
170

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15 hiaṭ miždəm Zaraθuštrə magauabiiō cōišt parə, garə domānə Ahurō Mazdā jasaṭ paouriiō: tə və Vohu Manaŋhə Ašəcō sauəiš cəuuišī.

16 təm kauuā Vīstāspō magahiiā xšaθrə naṣaṭ vaŋhauš padabiiš manaŋhə, yəm cistim aṣa maṇtā: “spəntō Mazdā Ahurō”, aθā nə səzdiiāi uštā.

17 bərxadəm mōi Fraśaосьtrə Huuōguuō daedoīšt kəharpəm daena₳ai vaŋhuuiiā; yəm hōi išišm dātu xšaišs Mazdā Ahurō, Ašahiiā aşđiiāi gorəzdīm.

18 təm cistim Dōjamaspō Huuōguuuō ištōiš x’arənə aṣa vərəntē, tət xšaθrəm manaŋhə vaŋhauš vido. tət hōi134 dāiḏ, Ahurō, hiaṭ, Mazdā, rapōn tauuā.

19 huuō tət nā, Maitiiōiṃəŋhə Spitamā, ahmāi dazdē daena₳ai vaədəmno, yə ahəm išasaš aibi Mazdā dātā mrauuaq,135 gaiiehiiā šīiaōnāiš vahiīo.

20 tət və nə, hazaoasårhō vispāŋhō, daidiiai sauuo, Ašəm vohu manaŋhə uxda, yaiš ārmaitiš, yazəmnəŋhō nəmaŋhə Mazdā rəfoṙəm cəgdō.

21 ārmatōiš nā, spəntō huuō cistī, uxdašiš, šīiaōnə, daēnə; ašəm spənuuət, vohū xšaθrəm manaŋhə Mazdā dadət Ahurō: tōm vaŋhīm yąsă ašim.

22 yehiiā mōi aṣaṭ hacā vahištem yesnē paıti, vađā: Mazdā Ahurō. yōi āŋharəcə həntića, tə136 yazāi x’aiš nəməni137 pairiçā jasaι vaŋtā.

Yasna 53

1 vahištā ištiš srāuui Zaraθuṣṭrahē Spitamahiā, yezi hōi dāt aiiaptā aṣat hacə Ahurō Mazdā yauuoi vispāiia, huuaŋhəuuim, yaecə hōi dəbən saškəŋcā138 daenaιi vaŋhuuii uxda əšiaōnācā.

2 aṭça [hōi]139 șcançtū manaŋhə uxdašiš šīiaōnaišcā xšnum Mazdā140 vahmāiia fraorə yašnəscā,

134 West: mōi ω
135 West: mraoτ ω
136 h v: təm m s: eadem vv.ll. Y. 15. 2, 63. 1, 65. 16, 69. 1
137 nəməbiš Schwyzer
138 saškəŋcā D, saškomecə s: sašacə m, sašəncə C v
139 [ ] Kellens–Pirant
140 s v: mazdā A D, -ǎi B C
kauuacă Vištāspō Zaraḵuštriš Spītāmō Frašaoštrască,
dāĥhō orazūš paţō, yam daēnām Ahurō saōšiiaŋtō dadāt.

3 tāŋcā141 ū, Pourucistā Haēcaṭ.aspānā
Spītāmī, yezuui dugodraṃ Zaraḵuštrahē:
vaŋhāuš ṭpaītiāstām142 manaŋhō ašaḥīīā Mazdāscā taibiiō dāt sarām.
aḍā hēm.frašuua [ṭbā]143 xraḍbā; spēništā ārmatoiš hudānū varšuā.

4 tōm zi vō ṭspōraṭdānī varānīį̃, yā fōdrōi vidāt
paītiēcā vastrīiaeibīīo aṭcā x’ētauē,
ašāuṇī aśauuabīiō; maŋaŋhō vaŋhōuš x’ēnuuaṭ ūaŋhuš ṭmām bēduš144
Mazdā dadāt Ahurō daēnaiīāi vauhuiīiāi yaaupoi vīsāiiāi.

5 sāx’ēnī vaziaṃnābīiiiō kainibīiō mraomī
xšmaibīiiācā, vādamnā:145 mōnćā i [maz]dazdūm,
vaedōdūm daēnābiš abiiascā ahūm yē vaŋhēuš maŋaŋhō.
ašā vō aniiō ainiṃ viuuāŋhatū: ṭaṭ zi hōi huśēnem anḥaṭ.

6 i’bā i haiṭiīāi, narō, aṭā, jēnaiiō.
drujō hacā rāṭemō yēm spašuḍā146 frāidīm
* * * * *
* drūjō: ā.īiesē ṭhōiś pīḍāt147 tanuuo parā.

6147 * * * * *
* * * * *
* * vaiiū. bèrdbiīō duś’arētām; naśaṭ x’ētōrm
draguūōdēbīiō dējīt. araṭeibīiō. anāś ā manahīm ahūm mērēŋgēduiīē.

7 aṭcā vō miḏdōm anḥaṭ ahiīā magahiiā:
yauuāṭ azūš xrazištō būnōi haxtiā
parā[ca]148 mraocās aerācā, ya’rā mainiīuš dręguuatuḍ anasaṭ149 parā.
vī. zaiaiślā magēm tēm, at vō “vaiiḥ” anḥaitī apēmēm vacō.

8 anāiś ā dužuuaršnaŋhō daʃšiiia hēnṭū
zaʃiiačā vīspāŋhō, xraosētqam upā,
huʃaʃrāiś jēnērəm xruŋeʃuṃ[cā], rāmaṃcā āiś dadātū šiieitibiiō viʒibiiō;
iratū iś duuaʃfō huuo dērəzā mərəδiiəo mazištō; moʃucā astū!

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141 Insler: tīmcā m, tōmcā h s v
142 paitiāstām m v, -stām h s: disyllabo opus est
143 [ ] Kellens–Pirart
144 mōn. bōnduš Humbach
145 fort. vadamnāŋhō
146 spaʃ<ŋ>uṭā Humbach
147 paṭā D H, pōṭā Aa
148 [ ] Monna
149 a naṣāt Insler
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Yasna 54

1. Ā Airiīmā išīi rafaórāi jañtū
nəɾəbīascā nārībīiascā Zaraṃušṭrahē,
vaŋhēuš rafo̱örāi manañhō, yā daēnā vairīm hanāt mīzhēm.
ašañhīā yāsā ašīm, yam išīiām Ahūrō masatā Mazdā.

B. The Yasna Haptaŋhāiti

Yasna 35

2. humatanmān hūxtanmān huvarštanmān iiađacā aniiadacā vəɾəziiimnanmāncā 
vāuūərəzənanmāncā mahi aibī.jarətārō: naē naēstārō yaθənā vohunam mahi.

3. tē tē vaɾəmāidēi, Ahūrā Mazdā Ašā srīrā, hiiat i mainimadīcā vaocoimacā 
varəzimacā, yā hātaŋ šiiaoθənənəm vahistā xiiaŋt uboiibii ahuiiā.

4. gauuōi aŋt āsi tāišt ĸiišt šiiiaθənənəišt yaišt vahištštiišt frəʃiiimahī rəməcā 
vəstrəmãcā dazdiiāi srunuuatącā ašrunuuatącā xšaiiəntącā ašxaiiəntəcā.

5. huxsa̱drōtamāi bā aŋt xša̱tərcē, ahmaŋ hiiat aibī, dadamahicā cišmahicā 
huuaŋmahicā, hiiat Mazdāi Ahūrāi Ašāiçā vahiştai.

6. yaθā aŋt utā nā və hāri və vaēdā haiθim, aθā, haŋt voθū, tatt aŋt ū tərəziiϊ-
tūcā ŋt ahmai fra.cā vətōiṅtū ŋt aθibiiŋ, yōi ū aθā vəɾəziian, yaθā ū astī.

7. Ahuruhiiāi zī aŋt [vě] Mazdā ū yasənəmcā vaḥnaŋməcā vahištəm aməhmədįi,
gəuʃca vəstrəm. tət aŋt və vəɾəziiimahī fra.cą vətiiimahī, yətō isəmadjē.

8. Ašañhīā āŋt saŋrī, Ašañhīā vəɾəzōnē kahmāic ū hātaŋ jiʃiŋm vahiştəm ādā 
uboiibii ahuiiā.

9/10 imə aŋt udxā vacā, Ahūrā Mazdā, Ašəm mananiiā ū vahehiia franuaocma: 
dβam aŋt aθəsəm paitiiįstəɾəmća franaxštəɾəmća daδəmədī, (10) Ašaṅtça

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150 C v, riğišt m: arojišt D E, -zišt F
151 fort. rafo̱rāi<ā> vel <ā> jaŋtū
152 Inslēr, Narten: adaiš ə
153 Narten: tət əədū ŵeře ə
154 [ ] West mazdā m h v: mazdā s
155 dett.: manañhīā m: maniiā D F, mainiiā C E v

Yasna 36

1 ahiia ōbā āthrā varṇānā paouruiiē pairi.jasāmaidē, Mazdā Ahurā, ōbā ōbā mainiiū spōṇištā, yō ā axtiš ahmāi, yōm axtōiīōi dāṛē.

2 uruāzištō huuo nā157 yātāiīā paitī.jamiīā, Ātarē Mazdā Ahurahīā, uruā-zištahīā uruāzištī, nāmīštahīā nōmaŋhā nā māzištāi yāŋhām paitī jamiīā.

3 ātarš voi Mazdā Ahurahīā ahi, mainiuš voi ahiia spōṇištō ahi; hiiat vā tōi nāmanām vāzištēm, Ātarē Mazdā Ahurahīā, tā ōbā pairi.jasāmaidē.

4/5 vohū ōbā manaŋhā, vohū ōbā aṣā, vaŋhuiiū ōbā cistōiś šiiāoθənāiścā vacābīscā pairi.jasāmaidē (5) nōmāxiiāmāhī išūdīiāmāhī ōbā, Mazdā Ahurā; vispāiś ōbā humatāiś, vispāiś hūxtāiś, vispāiś huuarštāiś pairi.jasāmaidē.

6 sraēstām aṭ tōi kēhrpēm kēhrpēm ā.ūuaēdaǐamahī, Mazdā Ahurā, imā raocā; barēzištēm barēzimānaŋm auaṭ yāt huuarē158 auaċī.

Yasna 37

1/3 iōā aṭ yazamaidē Ahuram Mazdām, yō gāmcā aśomcā dāt, apascā dāt ur-uuarāscā vaŋhīhī, raocāscā dāt būmimcā vispācā vohū, (2) ahiia xšaθrācā mazōnācā haauapajhāiścā.

tōm aṭ yasanām paaruuatātā yazamaidē, yōi gōuš hacā śiieiṇți; (3) tōm aṭ āhūriiā nāmēni mazdā.varā spoŋtōtōmā yazamaidē; tōm ahmkāiś azdabīscā uštānāiścā yazamaidē; tōm aṣāunām frauauaiśiś narāmcā nāi-riŋmcā yazamaidē.

4 Ašom aṭ vahištēm yazamaidē, hiiat sraēstēm, hiiat spoŋtēm, <hiiat>159 amōśem, hiiat raocōṅhuuata, hiiat vispā.vohū;

5 Vohucā Manō yazamaidē, Vohucā Xšaθrēm, Vaŋhiṁcā Daēnām, Vaŋhiṁcā Fṣēratūm, Vaŋhiṁcā Ārmaitīm.

156 [ ] West
157 s v: nā m h
158 huuarē m h, -ə H: auuarē s G
159 < > West
Yasna 38

1/2 imâmâ ât Zâm Gânãbiš haârâ yazamâidê: yâ nâ baraiti yâscâ tôi gênâ, Ahurâ Mazdâ, âsât hacâ vairiâ, tô yazamâidê, (2) İzâ Yaoštîiô Fraštîiô Ārmataiô. van'îhîm âbiš Aštîm, van'îhîm Îsôm, van'îhîm Âzüîtîm, van'îhîm Frasastîm, van'îhîm Parândim yazamâidê.

3 Apô ât yazamâidê maêkaiânûtîšcâ hâbuaanûtîšcâ, frauuaçaçhô Ahurânîš Ahurâhiîiã hauuapaçhô. hupærôbôbôcâ vâ huuo'g•aôbôcâ hušnâôrâscô ubôi-biîi ahubiîi cagômâ.

4 útti, yâ vê, van'hiš, Ahurô Mazdâ nâmâm dadât, vanhûdû hiaût vâ dadât, tâiî vâ yazamâidê, tâiî friânmahî, tâiî nêmañiîâmahî, tâiî isûidiîâmahî.

5 apascô vâ azišcô vâ mêtarâscô vâ, agôniîi dîrîdûdáiaçhô vîspô. paitiš a. uuaocâmâ, vahîštâ, sraeštâ. auuâ vê, van'hiš, râtôiîi darôgô.bázauû nãšû paitiî, viîdâ, paiti.sêndâ, mêtarô jîtaiîô.

Yasna 39

1/2 iôà ât yazamâidê gôûûuruûanômcô tašânômcô; ahmâkgô âat urûnô pasu-kanâmccô, yôî nâ jijišcôtiî, yaëbiîiscô tôî à, yaëcô aëibiîô à aînêh, (2) daiti-kanâmccô aïdîûnâm hiaût urûnô yazamâidê. așäûûm âaût urûnô yazamâidê, kudô. zâtanâmccô, nàrçmccô nàrinâmccô, yaëçûm vahêhiš daência vanaîntî vâ vônghen vâ vaonaré vê.

3 ât iôà yazamâidê vañhûscô ît vañ'hišcô ît, spôntông amôsông, yauhuaêjiîô yauhuaesuûô, yôî vânhâuû à manaçhô šîcieîntî, yâscô útti.

4 yaôà tô i, Ahurô Mazdô, mônghâcô vaocascô dáscô varasçô, yà vohû, aôà tôî dädêmâmî, aôà çîsêmâmî, aôà ôbô aîs yazamâidê, aôà nêmäxiîâmâmî, aôà ișûidiîâmâmî ôbô, Mazdô Ahurâ.

5 vañhâuû x'âcôtû x'açätâ, vañhâuû açahîîi ôbô paîri.jasâmâmê, vañhîûiâ ûsoratuûô, vañhîûiâ ârmatóïî.

Yasna 40

1/2 aûhû ât paiîî adâhû, Mazdô Ahurâ, mazdâmccô buîricô kôrêsuûa: râitî tôî xrapaîtiî, ahmaç hiaût aibî. hiaût miçdôm ômauuaîiôm160 fra.dadaô daenô- biîô, Mazdô Ahurâ, (2) ahiîi huûô nô dâîôtî ahmiîcô ahûiûiî manaçîiicô: taç ahiîî, yà taç upà.jamiîâmâm, tauuacû haxêmâm Ašaçiîiêcô vîspô yauuê.

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160 mauuaîiôm D: mauuaçêôm m C F v: mauuaîiîm Geldner
B. The Yasna Haptaḥāti

3 dāidī aṭ nərəš, Mazdā Ahurā, ašāunō aša.cinaḥō, aidiiūš vāstriīŋg, darə-
gāi iziiāi bəzuuaitē haxmainē ahmaibiiā ahmā.rafənaḥō.

4 aṭā x‘aētuš, aṭā vərəzēnā, aṭā haxōməm xiiāt, yaiš hišcamaidē; aṭā və utā xiiāmā, Mazdā Ahurā, ašauuanō ərəšiiā ištēm rāitī.

Yasna 41

1 stūtō, garō, vahmōŋ Ahurāi Mazdāi Aṣāicā vahištāi dadṃahicā cīsmahi-
cā ā.cā [ā]vaēdaiiamahī.

2 vohū xšaḥrəm tōi, Mazdā Ahurā, apaēmā vīspāi yauuē: huxšaṭras.tū nō, nā
vā nāirī vā, xšaētā ubōiō aŋhuuō, hātam hudāstōmā.

3 humāīm ḍbā, i잠, yazatōm, aṣaŋhācim dadṃaidē. aṭā tū nō gaiiascā
astətəscā xiiā ubōiō aŋhuuō, hātam hudāstōmā.

4 hanaēmācā zaēmācā, Mazdā Ahurā, ḍbaṃi rafənəhī darəgāiāu; aēšācā
ḍbā āmāuəuəntascā buiiamā, rapōišcā tū nō daragəmcā uštəcā, hātam hu-
dāstōmā.

5/6 ḍbōi staotarascā məṭranascā, Ahurā Mazdā, aogəmadaēcā usməhicā vīsā-
madaēcā. hiiat miždəm †mənuaiəhəm fra.adatha daēnəbiiō, Mazdā Ahurā,
(6) ahiā huuō nō dāidī ahmaicā ahuiē manaxiiācā: tət ahiā, yā tət
upā.jamiəmā, təuacā haxəmə Aṣaxiiācā vīspāi yauuē.

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161 x‘aētuš A E: -tūš B h v: x‘eṭūš F
162 ərošuuā dett.
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