

Ibn Hurdādbih sagt, sind die 'Wegekundigen' jüdische Händler. Das Problem ist, herauszufinden, welche Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Qualifikationen Händler und jüdisch bestanden haben und aus welchem Grund Ibn Hurdādbih sie verbunden hat. Das führt zu der Frage, ob und welche Organisationsformen damit verbunden sein könnten, mit andren Worten, welche Schlüsse sich aus dem Begriff für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte ziehen lassen. Hier liegen Kmietowiczs sachliche Bemerkungen, vor allem soweit sie Organisation und Niveau der Zeit betreffen, in der Linie der neueren Forschungen zur Geschichte der Korporationen im Islam.

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NOUN PHRASE IN MIDDLE PERSIAN

I intend to discuss in the present paper the structure of the noun phrase in Middle Persian — the language which was the immediate or a very closely related dialectically antecedent of New Persian. While the question of noun phrase in New Persian has been thoroughly analysed¹, the earlier stage in the development of this grammatical phenomenon has a small bibliography². As however, in the history of the Persian language, Middle Persian is the first stage in the process of transition of Persian from a flexional language into an analytic one, this stage deserves detailed scrutiny. The present state of the language will show then as a logical link in its history.

In analytic languages the noun phrase is one of the few existing grammatical constructions combining a couple of components. This fact is very important in Persian; it influences syntactic processes in sentences.

The term *noun phrase* is understood here as in the structural linguistics that is as a dichotomous combination of two components between which the attributive relationship of determination occurs. The constitutive member of the phrase is the component that is described and this component decides about the syntactic value of the whole phrase³.

¹ W. Lentz, *Das Neupersische*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. I Bd. IV Absch. I, pp. 184—189; G. Lazard, *Grammaire du persan contemporain*, Paris 1957, pp. 76—79, 91—98, 112—123; A. K. Lambton, *Persian Grammar*, Cambridge 1967, pp. 9—10, 19—25, 80—85, 128—130; L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *Elementary Persian Grammar*, Cambridge 1963, pp. 41—45.

² B. Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, pp. 90; V. Rastorgujeva, *Srednepersidskij jazyk*, Moskva 1966, pp. 136—139.

³ J. Kuryłowicz, *Les structures fondamentales de la langue: groupe et proposition*, „Studia Philosophica” 1948, nr 3, pp. 203—209; T. Mi-

The source material for my analysis were two Middle Persian texts written at two different stages in the development of Middle Persian, and having different stylistic qualities. *Kār-nāmak i Artaxšēr i Pāpakān* (from now on referred to as Kn)⁴ is a historical tale telling of the origin of the Sasanian dynasty. Kn was written in the later stage of Middle Persian. Its oldest existing manuscript dates back to the post-Sasanian period. The supplement to *Šāyest nē-šāyest* (ŠnŠ)⁵, in turn, is a religious text containing several moral indications and teachings. Together with the main body of the text *Šāyest nē-šāyest*, it comes from the Sasanian period. Its oldest complete manuscript version comes from the 14th century; fragments of it are found in another 8th century manuscript. Examples taken from the above two texts are quoted here in the original transcription. Complete exemplification of the grammatical phenomenon in question is expressed in numbers. Each type of structure is illustrated with more than one example taken from the source texts.

The primary function of the noun phrase in the Middle Persian sentence is that of the subject group, meaning the subject and its attributes. Direct and indirect objects are also always expressed by noun phrases. The noun phrase may additionally function as a form of the remaining members of the sentence: the adverbial expression and the predicate. The structure of the noun phrase remains uninfluenced by its function in the sentence. Thus this discussion deals only with the inherent structure of the noun phrase without analysing the sentence in which it occurs.

The question to be analysed is how the noun phrase components determine mutually depending on the part of speech they belong to. Such phenomenon is an indoeuropean one⁶. Rules applying to it, apply as well to the noun phrase in Middle Persian.

The structure of the noun phrase is determined by the part

Iewski, *Językoznawstwo*, Warszawa 1965, pp. 235—244; Zb. Gołąb, A. Heinz, K. Polański, *Słownik terminologii językoznawczej*, Warszawa 1968, p. 380.

⁴ H. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, Uppsala 1928, 1931.

⁵ F. Kotwal, *The supplementary texts to the Šāyest nē-šāyest*, København 1969.

⁶ J. Kuryłowicz, *op. cit.*

of speech which serves as modifier (the determining member). The head (the determined member) is primarily a noun. When other parts of speech serve as head eg. pronouns, verbs (infinitivus, participium), adjectives, prepositional phrases, noun phrases, then they function as nouns:

frazand i nām-burtār (Kn I 5) — child — the name bearer.

avē aivāp hač frazand i hān mart *kas* (Kn I 13) — he or one of this man's children.

zan xwāstan (ŠnŠ XIX 10) — acquiring of a wife.

purr xrafstr (ŠnŠ XX 18) — full of monsters.

ēwag i axtarīg (ŠnŠ XIV 5) — one (of the stars) of zodiac.

handarz i man ō tō (Kn I 46) — my advice for you.

Thus it is not the head that characterizes the noun phrase. The noun phrase must be analysed according to which part of speech serves as modifier.

The modifier may be a:

N O U N. It stands then, in either an oblique case (genitive most often) or an apposition. Nouns in genitives occur in two grammatical constructions:

1. the most frequent one — so called *ezafe construction*, in which the modifier is joined with the head by means of *ezafe*⁷:
dušxwātāyih i *Alaksandar* (Kn I 7) — good reign of Alexander.
martom i *dēh* (Kn II 16) — village dwellers.
dēn i *ahramōgih* (ŠnŠ XVII 7) — professing of heresy.

⁷ *ezafe* (ezāfat, izāfet) — the enclitic particle linking the described and the describing components and expressing various ways of attributive determination. It derives from an Old Persian relative pronoun *hya-*, which was used to the nominal group and to introduce relative clauses. The former function explains the way in which Middle and New Persian join the word described with the adjective (first of all); the later explains the way in which these languages join it with prepositional phrase. On the origin of *ezafe* cf.: K. Hoffmann, *Altiranisch*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, pp. 18—19; R. Kent, *Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, New Haven 1953, pp. 84—85, 95. On the *ezafe* in Middle and New Persian cf.: G. Lazard, *op. cit.*, pp. 62—66; A. K. Lambton, *op. cit.*, pp. 9—10; L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *op. cit.*, p. 41; V. Rastorgujeva, *op. cit.*, pp. 137—138.

- pānag i čahār-pāyān (ŠnŠ XXII 14) — protector of animals. Sometimes *ezafe* is missing though:
 purr xrafstr (ŠnŠ XX 18) — full of monsters.
2. existing parallelly construction in which the noun serving as modifier precedes the head:
 yazdān adyārih (Kn I 30) — gods' help.
 axtar-mārān sarḍār (Kn III 6) — leader of astrologers.
 frazand zāyišnih (ŠnŠ XII 15) — bearing of a child.
 rōy šustan (ŠnŠ XII 21) — washing of face.

Apposition modifies its head in similar constructions: in the *ezafe* construction, or preceding immediately its head or following it:
 dudgāw i zartōšt mād (ŠnŠ XII 11) — Dugdaw-Zaratuštra's mother.
 atur burzēn-miθr (Kn I 13) — burzēn-miθr fire.
 mard-ē dawans nām (ŠnŠ XII 29) — a man named Dawans.
 Arḍavān sarḍār (Kn I 2) — Ardavan-leader.
 Haftōirang u šēr axtar (Kn II 5) — the Haftōirang and Šēr stars.

ADJECTIVES serving as modifiers are joined with heads (which are usually nouns) by means of *ezafe*. This function of *ezafe* is according to historical grammar its primary function (cf. footnote 7):

- Arḍavān i bē-šutak-baxt (Kn II 3) — wretched Ardavan.
 šamšēr-ē i hindūk (Kn II 13) — indian sword.
 čašm i hōy (ŠnŠ XI 6) — left eye.
 bōy i pāk (ŠnŠ XII 12) — clean sandalwood.
 In a limited number of cases *ezafe* is omitted. In more numerous cases modifiers are found preceding their heads:
 hamāk gēhān (Kn I 9) — whole world.
 hač apārik kanīčakān āžarmiktār (Kn II 1) — distinguished from other girls.
 tuχšāg mard (ŠnŠ XX 3) — careful man.

NUMERALS modify the component following them much more often than the one preceding them:

- 200 u 40 katak-χ^uatāi (Kn I 1) — 240 princes.
 15-om i karzang (ŠnŠ XXI 2) — 15th (day of) the Karzang (month).
 sitīkar šap (Kn I 11) — third night.
 rōč i ditīkar (Kn III 16) — second day.

PRONOUNS. Possessive and reflexive pronouns are joined with heads by names of *ezafe*. Demonstrative and indefinite ones precede their heads. In rare instances the former two groups may be found preceding their heads either:

- kanīčak i man (Kn III 3) — my daughter.
 angōšidag i χ^uēš (ŠnŠ XV 11, 13, 19, 29) — own counterpart.
 χ^uēš-tan varč (Kn I 46) — fame for himself.
 hēč frazand (Kn I 5) — no child.
 ēd wizir (ŠnŠ XII 4) — this decision.

ADVERBS are generally rarely used in Middle Persian. If they occur in a noun phrase they precede the head, less often they can be found in the *ezafe* construction:

- vas čiš (Kn II 13) — many articles.
 apēr staβr (Kn III 10) — very strong.

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES, also rarely used as modifiers, function very much alike adverbs:

- hač pitarān u niyākān i tō kas (Kn I 14) — one of your fathers or forefathers.
 urwar i pad gētīg (ŠnŠ XV 27) — plants of the world.

When a noun phrase consists of the head and two modifiers joined with it by means of *ezafe*, then the modifier expressing quality precedes the modifier expressing attachment. There are three types of relationships between two modifiers present in one noun phrase:

1. most often the second one describes the one preceding it, and both of them, as a group, modify the head:
 x^uatāy i miyān i asmān (Kn III 6) — ruler of the center the sky.
2. the second modifier describes the whole group preceding it:
 pus i mas i Arḍavān (Kn I 32) — Ardavan's oldest son.
3. the modifiers are coordinate and may be joined by a coordinator or a coma:
 pīl i spēt i ārāstak (Kn I 13) — white seddled elephant.

In some noun phrases it is difficult to decide which component is the head of the phrase and which is the modifier. This occurs

when both components belong to the same part of speech and lack inflectional case endings:

apāk *Kurtān šupānān* raft (Kn I 7) — dwelled with Kurdish shepherds (or: dwelled with Kurds shepherds).

tāk čand rōč pat *χ^uarišn* i *dārišn* nēvak u sačak-var parvart (Kn I 19) — to have him for a couple of days well and suitably treated with good food (or if we treat the *ezafe* as a coordinator: to have him for a couple of days well and suitably treated with goods and food).

The source texts provide also examples of split noun phrases in which the components do not appear right next to each other: *sāyag ī nēmrōz χ^uab frazām* bawād (ŠnŠ XXI 3) — let the end of the shadow (-payer) be good.

χ^uar-it girād brāzyāg (ŠnŠ XXII 11) — let the shining nimbus keep you.

This also occurs when one of the components is front-shifted to the beginning of the sentence while its equivalent (in form of a pronoun) is placed within the sentence:

pōyrōtkēšān — *kē* hurastagihātar kard — *ka-šān* pad šab *χ^uarišn* *χ^uard...* (ŠnŠ XII 19) — the priests who behaved in a very orthodox way — while they ate food at night...

This grammatical operation is a result of the lack of formal means to express objects and some types of adverbial expressions.

Distribution of the types of structures described above depends on the part of speech to which the components of the noun phrase belong. It is predictable, for instant, that demonstrative and indefinite pronouns will precede heads, which statement is supported by the evidence of over one hundred examples in the source texts, and that possessive pronouns will be found in the *ezafe* construction. Such regularity is not always true for other parts of speech. Thus, e.g., in Kn and ŠnŠ adjectives and nouns in genitive are usually found following their heads, and numerals and adverbs preceding them. Expressed in numbers the situation looks as follows: The manuscripts provide 101 examples in which the noun in genitive is joined with the head by means of the *ezafe* and 49 examples in which it is placed before the head. In 35 cases

numerals are found preceding heads; in 6 cases they follow them. Similarly adverbs are found more often (11 cases to 2) before heads. Appositives follow heads in 17 cases and in 6 they precede heads. The number of cases in which prepositional phrases precede and follow heads is respectively 17 and 16 so almost equal.

In noun phrases, as their center are primarily nouns, occur the phenomena of concord and rection. Middle Persian no longer distinguishes grammatical gender, adjectives (with the exception of the substantivated ones) have no plural inflectional ending. Thus only concord of case occurs. But it is not essential in the phrase. As the examples quoted here have indicated, in most cases concord does occur as both components are in nominatives. Prepositions and postpositions refer to the whole noun phrase: *pat patitik mārik* (Kn I 43) — in the expiatory expression.

Adjectives may take the inflectional ending of the oblique case when they modify nouns in nominative, but then, they precede their heads:

hač anē dar (Kn III 16) — on the other side.

Rection does not occur regularly. The *ezafe* construction is one of its forms, and *ezafe* is the exponent of subordination: *nazdik i stōrān* (Kn I 39) — nearness of horses.

Inflectional ending is sometimes taken by nouns preceding their heads, functioning as modifiers and denoting attachment. Thus compounds, which are not the subject of the present paper, are produced ⁸.

The inflectional ending of the oblique case is sometimes taken by the first component in the *ezafe* construction:

rāh ō Pārs padē i Artaxšēr (Kn III 7) — way to Fars chasing Artaxšēr.

varrakē i apēr staβr (Kn 10) — very strong lamb.

Very frequently however, two nouns stand by each other bearing no grammatical exponents. The syntactic value of the phrase is determined then, by the order of the components, by their meaning or by the context in which they stand:

⁸ V. Rastorgujeva, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 136.

Ērān šaṯr 200 u 40 katak-χ^uatāi būt (Kn I 1) — in the Iran country there were 240 princes.
yazdān aḍyārih (Kn I 30) — gods' help.
griftan i Artaxšēr rāi āmat (Kn III 22) — in order to capture Artaxšēr.

Such inconsequent occurrence of concord and rection should be understood as a result of gradual elimination of inflectional case endings in Middle Persian. The language at the stage in question distinguished only two cases forms and only in the singular, but even there the oblique case was being superseded.

Thus, it is only the laws of word order that function in the noun phrase (the *ezafe* construction is an exception). The semantic load of the noun phrase is determined by the parts of speech to which its components belong, though possible variations must be taken into consideration.

The described stage in the change of noun phrase in Middle Persian from the state characteristic of flexional language, originated the present state of this grammatical phenomenon. The facts particularly characteristic are placing of the modifier after the head with the notable exception of demonstrative and indefinite pronouns which precede the head.

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MATÉRIAUX POUR SERVIR À LA RECHERCHE DU CONSONANTISME ARMÉNIEN

CONTINUATION DIALECTALE DES OCCLUSIVES ET AFFRIQUÉES
DE LA LANGUE CLASSIQUE

Les matériaux dialectaux qui suivent ont servi, parmi les autres, de base pour notre étude intitulée „*le Développement du consonantisme arménien*” (sous presse). L'ordre du classement des dialectes est celui proposé par Gharibian¹ et accepté généralement par les linguistes qui participaient à la discussion sur le consonantisme arménien tenue en 1958—62².

Les noms géographiques arméniens sont espacés.

Entre parenthèses, après les exemples, les pages respectives des ouvrages consultés sont indiquées.

I-er GROUPE DE DIALECTES

Il comprend les dialectes occidentaux parlés jusqu'au début du XX-ème s. sur le territoire Ouest du Plateau d'Arménie (aujourd'hui en Turquie). Presque éteints à présent. Les centres:

- Sébastie (Sebastia, turc Sivas),
- Akən (turc Agın, au vilayet Elâzığ),
- Arabkir (turc Arapkir, vilayet Malatya),
- Baberd (turc Bayburt, vilayet Gümüşane),
- Şebın Karahisar (vilayet Giresun),

¹ A. S. Garibjan, *Ob armjanskome konsonantizme*, Voprosy Jazykoznanija 1959, No 5, p. 81—90.

² Dans les revues „Patma-banasirakan handes” (Erevan) et „Voprosy Jazykoznanija” (Moscou).