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WORD ORDER IN MIDDLE PERSIAN

Part I
INTRODUCTION

The aim of this work is to present the general norms and deviations of sentence word order in the Middle Persian language.

Middle Persian constitutes a very important link in the history of Iranian languages because of the appearance in it of the language structures unknown to Old Iranian and other Middle Iranian languages, which formed the beginning of the Modern Iranian stage of the language. This is connected with the change in the type of language. Old Iranian languages belonged to the inflected type, that is word order and other flexionless elements did not play any grammatical role in the sentence. Under the influence of the accent final components of word, i.e. endings disappeared, which caused changes in morphological structure. At the Middle Iranian stage these changes became visible not until Middle Persian as the immediate continuant of Old Persian or some other related dialect. The differences between the two stages are so distinct because no written records survived from the transition period. The last Old Persian inscription dates back to the 4th century B. C. (Artaxerxes III), while the first text of Middle Persian belongs to the reign of Ardashir (224-41 A. D.).

In Middle Iranian declensional case endings disappeared (except for oblique case ending, which was not always used) and verb conjugation was limited. The language had to turn to other formal means of enabling differentiation of syntactical categories and fulfilment of their proper functions in the sentence. The function of Old Persian inflections is performed in Middle Persian by prepositional phrases or the place of the word in the sentence, the rich verb formations in Old Persian were replaced by periphrastic etc. At the Middle Persian stage the language was changing to an analytic type.

One of the important results of the change in type of language is the precise and fixed order of words in the sentence. The almost unrestrained word order of Old Persian was possible thanks to the rich morphology which was sufficiently explicit to express syntactic relations. In Middle Persian many grammatical categories may be identified only on the basis of the position of the word in the sentence.

Word order in the Middle Persian sentence is just becoming an element playing a certain role in the structure of the language. Modern Persian already has a rigid and fixed order of words in the sentence because it is decidedly analytical type of language. The predicate at the end of the sentence is the general rule. The established pattern "subject - object - predicate" may be rearranged if style or rhythm demands it and also in colloquial speech, which shows less care in observing language norms.

These problems do not possess an extensive bibliography: M. Haug, Essays on the Pahlavi Language, 1870, pp. 119-120. B. Henning, chapter Mitteliranisch [in:] Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1958, pp. 90 and subsequent.

V. Rastorguyeva, Srednepersidskij jazyk, 1966, pp. 133-151.

Outside of this I have not come across any study dealing directly with sentence word order in Middle Persian. There are more studies on the order of words in Old Persian and

they are more systematic; they may be taken as a starting point when dealing with the Middle Persian language as well: R. Kent, Old Persian, 1953, pp. 95-97.

Earlier works on this subject are contained in the article of J. Duchesne-Guillemin, L'étude de l'iranien ancien au XX^{me} siècle in the journal "Kratylos" from 1962, mentioning (p. 35); A. Meillet, E. Benveniste, Grammaire du vieux-perse, 1931; E. Schwentner, Die Wortfolge im Altpersischen, 1925 and articles of E. Kieckers (e.g. Die Stellung des Verbs im Griechischen und in den verwandten Sprachen, 1911).

The problems of word order and its role in the sentence are discussed in works on general and Indo-European linguistics as one of syntax and stylistics. The titles given below are mostly many years old, but are still the basis of linguistic studies. Changes have occurred only in the methods of formulations. The results of investigations are still up-to-date:

H. Weil, De l'ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes, 1844.

B. Delbrück, Syntaktische Forschungen, 1880, pp. 15-16.

J. Wackernagel, Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung, 1892.

A. Meillet, Wstęp do językoznawstwa indoeuropejskiego, 1903, pp. 297 and following.

K. Brugmann, Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, 1904, pp. 677-87.

S. Kieckers, Die Stellung des Verbs im Griechischen und in den verwandten Sprachen, 1911.

R. Blümel, Einführung in die Syntax, 1914, pp. 202-214.

L. Renou, Grammaire sanscrite, 1930, pp. 397 and following.

H. Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik, 1937, vol. VII, pp. 226-68.

A. Debrunner, Griechische Grammatik, 1950, vol. II, pp. 689 and following.

M. Leumann, J. Hoffmann, A. Szantyr, Lateinische Grammatik, 1965, p. 397.

In my studies of this interesting problem I made use of the following material:

Kār-nāmak i Artaxšēr i Pāpakān issued by H. Nyberg in Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi, Uppsala 1928, 1931 (later noted as Kn). This is a historical tale of the beginnings of the Sasanid dynasty in Iran. It belongs to the later stage of Middle Persian. The oldest surviving edition comes from the post-Sasanid period. In the Nyberg edition the text is given in Middle Persian alphabet, and the glossary in the Latin alphabet. I had access to Prof. dr J. Kuryłowicz's transcription of the text. The supplement to Šāyest nē-šāyest (later noted as ŠnŠ) is a religious text, containing commandments and moral norms. The principal text ŠnŠ was most carefully prepared by J. Tavadia in 1930. Earlier editions of the supplements dated from the beginning of the century. I used the Copenhagen edition of F. Kotwal from 1969 (The supplementary texts to the Šāyest nē-šāyest). The text is given in the original alphabet and in transliteration and transcription. The glossary and translation into English are added. The text ŠnŠ and supplements come from the Sasanid period, its oldest complete copy from the 14th century, in parts from the 8th century.

I quote the texts in the same transcription as that of the sources.

The translations used in this work closely follow the original. The aim was a most faithful rendering of grammatical forms regardless of the literary value.

For analytical purpose I use the dichotomic division of the sentence, first dividing it into subject and predicate groups, then describing the position of subject and predicate as stems of the groups, then the members defining them. I note the position of subject and predicate in the whole sentence as its most important members. Besides ascertaining the position of object and adverbial in relation to predicate, and attribute in relation to the subject, I analyse the word order in the expressions themselves. Thus, beginning with the main division of the sentence

I finally isolate the smallest syntactical unit in it and describe the word order of members in subsequent stages of division.

I should like to stress that I am interested only in the syntactic function of language units and not in their semantics. In this study only the simple sentence is taken into consideration. If it is part of a complex non-coordinate sentence this has no influence on word order in the Middle Persian language. The relation of subordination is expressed simply by indicators of junction and context. Besides, the given texts are written mostly in sequences of single sentences joined by coordinate conjunctions.

There are over 1300 sentences in the texts studied. Due to their number and variety this material may be considered as representative for the language.

Part II MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF SENTENCE MEMBERS

Before beginning the analysis of word order in the Middle Persian sentence I shall try to describe briefly the morphological structure of the members of the sentence taking the lexicology into consideration, where advisable. This is necessary in order to avoid misunderstanding and repetitions in the main chapters of this work.

The predicate group, the structure of which depends on diverse features of the predicate, is as follows:

The predicate of a verbal sentence may be a finite verb, passive perfect participle (functioning as a preterite) and present participle:

pat kār-nāmak i Artaxšēr i Pāpakān ētōn nipišt ēstāt (Kn I 1) - in the book of deeds of Artaxšēr Pāpakān was written thus.
asvār i dōkānak dānēm (Kn III 14) - several horsemen we know.
aziš ēwag ēwag gugān gōwom (ŠnŠ XI 1) - about them in turn separately I shall relate. Arđavān pat Staxr nišast (Kn I 4) -

- Ardāvan in Istahr settled. uš ēniz pursīd (ŠnŠ XVII 13) - and about this he asked. pat dīpīrīh u asvārīh...ētōn frahātak (Kn I 23) - in the art of writing and horseriding he (was) so schooled.

The verb may be accompanied by a praeverbium or (as yet very rarely) by a noun, forming a compound predicate:

Sāsān ō pēš x^uāst (Kn I 14) - Sāsān he summoned. Artaxšēr asp dō...zēn kart (Kn II 14) - Artaxšēr two horses saddled. čēōn andar nask dād 2 bahr ī ahrawīh abar gōwēd (ŠnŠ XII 23) - as in Vendīdād two parts of Ahrawīh are discussed.

The nominal sentence is very common in Middle Persian. The predicative may be a noun, adjective, pronoun, nominal group, prepositional phrase. Sentences where the predicative itself without a copula performs the function of predicate predominate:

ēn dašt nēvak u gōr ētar vas (Kn I 37) - this steppe (is) good and (there are) donkeys many here. ātur gušnasp artēštār u spāh-patān u ātur burzēn-mīvr vāstryōšān u varz-kartārān ī gēhān (Kn I 13) - the fire gušnasp (is) a warrior and commander, and the fire burzēn-mīvr (are) the villagers and peasants of the world. 7 amahraspand ī gētīg rāy (ŠnŠ XIII 8) - (verses) seven for secular Amahraspands. ēniz paydāk (ŠnŠ XVII 11) - this (is) know. kār be kām ī tō (ŠnŠ XVIII 4) - the matter (is) according to your will. day ēdōn čēōn ōhrmazd (ŠnŠ XVIII 4) - Day (is) like Ōhrmazd.

The function of predicate in ŠnŠ is also assumed by nomen actionis acquiring a necessitative meaning of its basic verb: ašemvohū-ē hamē gōwišn (ŠnS XII 21) - Ašemvohū should be recited. abariz ēn nigīrišn mardōmān (ŠnŠ XX 17) - ponder over this, oh people!

Sentences with a full nominal predicate, that is with a copula, are more rare and only when required for grammatical reasons - tense, mood (there is an almost complete lack of the form "ast" - the present in the function of the copula):

Pāpak marzpān u šaṭrōdār ī Pārs būt (Kn I 3) - Pāpak was

a deputy and Duke of Pars. hān xumr...rāst būt (Kn I 21) - this dream was true. ān ī nazdist ātaxš...zōrōmandtar bawēd (ŠnŠ XII 5) - the nearest fire will become more powerful. uš tōzišn ud pādīfrāh 73 drahm bawēd (ŠnŠ XVI 3) - his penance and punishment will be 73 drahas.

In Middle Persian we meet with a continuation of Old Persian passive construction in sentences the predicate of which is a verb in the form of periphrastic past tense. This construction was more and more rarely used, thus some inconsistencies and a distinctly visible process of its conversion into an active construction.

Some sentences would seem to denote that the construction is still valid - there is concord of predicate number with the logical subject of the sentence while the object has a different number: čē dānākān guft ēstēt (Kn I 43) - which was by wise men said. This concord seems to me only an apparent one, because:

1. The predicate almost always appears in the passive perfect participle without an auxiliary, and thus has one form for both numbers,

2. The enclitic pronoun, coming from the old genitive-dative, in the Middle Persian language is already sensed also as a nominative (e.g. it appears in the role of subject in sentences with an intransitive predicate),

3. Such examples as: zartōšt abar ān dār az ōhrmazd pursīd (ŠnŠ XII 29) - Zoroaster asked Ōhrmazd about the matter - indicate that the sentence is treated as active; the direct object with preposition could not be used as the subject of a passive sentence,

4. In the sentence: man kart hom (Kn I 35) - I did it - there is grammatical concord between predicate and member, which in this case must be the subject; thus the sentence is active.

Because of this I treat all the sentences with so-called "passive construction" as active. The above mentioned reasons indicate that in Middle Persian they were not treated as passive (naturally, this doesn't concern really passive sentences, with the predicate in the passive). Also I am not of opinion that it is an "ergative construction":

ēn zanišn kē kart (Kn I 34) - who struck the blow < by whom was the blow struck. čē dānākān guft ēstēt (Kn I 43) - what the wise men said < what was said by the wise men. ka-š yašt kard ēstēd (ŠnŠ XII 1) - when he yašt accomplished < when yašt was accomplished by him. kē-š zamīg pahrēzišn rāy ēdōn kard ēstēd (ŠnŠ XII 25) - who did this for protection of the earth < by whom was it done...

The problem of the predicate is connected with the structure of the impersonal sentence, the constitutive member of which is generally the impersonal "tuvān", while the function of agent is performed by a noun in independent case or a pronoun (independent or enclitic):

dušman pat dušman hān nē tuvān kartan (Kn I 43) - enemy against enemy this should not be done. api-t x^uatayīh i Erān šaṭr vas sal apāvēt kartan (Kn II 17) - and thee should rule over the country of Iran many years. kē man čišiz kardan nē tawān (ŠnŠ XVIII 1) - about which I must not do anything.

In the texts we meet a few sentences with the predicate before brackets:

andar dēh nē be pat kustak i dēh vitart (Kn II 16) - in the village not, but aside the village he was passing. būd hēnd kē pad panāhīh ud būd kē pad gāušudāg guft (ŠnŠ XI 5) - there were (those), who about care, and there were (those) who about gōšōdo spoke.

In this study I do not deal with groups of words performing the function of sentences or unfinished or other defective sentences (found in ŠnŠ; Kn is a text always written in full sentences).

The predicate may be connoted by a direct object, an indirect object, adverbial expression. These members of the sentence, usually nominal, in their morphological structure are as follows:

The object may be a noun or nominal group. The direct object appears (with a few exceptions) in an independent case, while the indirect object appears with the preposition "ō", postposition "rāi" or in the form of independent case without preposition:

The direct object usually appears in the independent case:

Pāpak...kas fristāt (Kn I 14) - Pāpak sent someone. ka-šān zanišn pat hān aḏvēnak dīt (Kn I 34) - when they blow of this kind saw. pēš ku-š be barēnd (ŠnŠ XVII 14) - before they carry him out. andar 3 rōz hamāg yazišn i srōš abāyēd kardan (ŠnŠ XVIII 3) - throughout all 3 days worshipping Srōš should be done.

In rare instances the direct object also appears in dependent cases: api-š Artaxšēr rāi ō ax^uar i stōrān fristīt (Kn I 39) - and he Artaxšēr to the horse stable sent. zartōšt az ōhrmazd pūrsīd (ŠnŠ XVII 1) - Zoroaster asked. Ōhrmazd.

Here are examples of indirect object with preposition "ō" or postposition "rāi": rōšnīh o hamāk gēhān hamē dahēnd (Kn I 11) - light to the whole world they give. tāh x^uarrē yāmak aviš āṣart hē (Kn I 18) - so that royal robe him brought. Pāpak Sāsān rāi framūt (Kn I 19) - Pāpak ordered Sāsān.

An indirect object may be expressed in an independent case: Arđavān škuft sahist (Kn III 14) - it seems to Ardavān (to be) striking. baxt-i hayyār bawād (ŠnŠ XXII 31) - let destiny be a friend to you.

An adverb, prepositional phrase, noun or nominal group in dependent case may constitute an adverbial expression. A special role is played by praeverbial, the use of which is very heterogeneous, as one praeverbium may perform many functions. Here are some examples of adverbial expressions: api-š Artaxšēr pat frazandīh patgraft (Kn I 22) - and he Arta-

xšēr accepted as (his) child. rōč-e Arđavān... ō naxčir šut ēstāt (Kn I 31) - one day Arđavān hunting went. nūn-ič božišn gōš pat patītik mārīk (Kn I 43) - now for forgiveness ask in penitent formula. be ō nazdist ātaxš pas be ō star pas be mān ud pas be x^uaršēd šawēd (ŠnŠ XII 5) - to the nearest fire, then to a star, then to the moon, and then to the sun he will go. ku ōyšān...ān i nar ham pad pusīh be padīrēd (ŠnŠ XII 14) - if they will your boy really as a son accept. zūzag harw rōz ka andar mōristān mēzēd 1000 mōr be mīrēd (ŠnŠ XII 20) - when a porcupine all day in an ant-hill urinates, a thousand ants perish.

The subject group composed of subject and qualifiers has a simple structure:

The subject may be any noun or other member performing its function:

noun:

x^uaršēt hač sar i Sāsān bē taft (Kn I 9) - the sun from Sasan's head shone. Pāpak rāi pus-e hast (Kn I 24) - Papak has a son.

an independent pronoun:

har čē tō framāyē kunam (Kn II 11) - all that you command I shall do. ān x^uad dēn-āgāhtar (ŠnŠ XII 2) - this one is() better acquainted with religion.

an enclitic pronoun:

api-š āmat (Kn II 17) - and he went. agariš rēmanīh ast (ŠnŠ XII 27) - if he is unclean.

a prepositional phrase:

ast az wēh-dēnān (ŠnŠ XII 21) - there exist followers of Ahura Mazda.

an infinitive:

ō ātaxš zōhr dādān kunišn (ŠnŠ XII 5) - a sacrifice "zōhr" should be made to fire.

number:

ēwag ēn ku (ŠnŠ XII the beginning of almost very line) - one (commandent) is that...

nomen actionis:

hakar-at mēnišn apāk man rāst u ēvakānak hast (Kn II 9) - if your thinking is righteous and in accordance with me...

A compound subject contains the conjunction "u(d), aivāp".

A compound subject with the preposition "apāk" I distinguish from an adverbial expression using this preposition with a verb requiring such rection:

Spāhān u Pārs u kustīhā... pat dast i Arđavān sarōār būt (Kn I 2) - Isfahan and Pars and countries were in the hands of Arđavān-commander. avē aivāp hač frazancān i hēn marī kas-ē ō pātix-šāyīh i gēhān rasēt (Kn I 13) - he or from children of this man someone will rule the world. Artaxšēr apāk dō bārak i šmāh nē pat gyāk hast (Kn III 2) - Artaxšēr with your two horses are not present. harw šab dēw-e abāg 150 dēw ō wināhīdan i zar-tōšt mad hēnd (ŠnŠ XII 11) - each night the dev with 150 other devs to destroy Zoroaster came. The last two sentences I contrast with one in which "apāk" introduces an adverbial expression of accompanying: cēon mōy abāg rōy x^uarrēh ēwkardagtar (ŠnŠ XIX 15) - like hair with the glory of the face (is) connected.

Several kinds of attributes may be distinguished: adjectival, pronominal, numerical, nominal (in genitive) or in the form of prepositional phrase:

x^uatāi u pātixšāi i nōk ō paitākīh āyēt (Kn II 5) - a new king and ruler to power will come. ēd wizīr ē (ŠnŠ XII 4) - this decision (is) such. hān dō asvārān čē gās bē vitart hand (Kn III 12) - these two riders where did they pass? stārak i Ōhrmazd apāč bālist āmat (Kn II 5) - the star of Ōhrmazd (Jupiter) rose again. u nūn-ič handarz i man ō tō ēn saxttar (Kn I 46) - and now my advice to you (is) categorical. api-šān varrak-ē i apēr stafr hač pas hamē davist (Kn III 3) - and with them a lamb very strong was running away.

Appositions (proper names and names) are often subject determiners: ān mard-ē dawāns nām (ŠnŠ XII 29) - behold the man of the name Davans. Haftōirang u Šēr axtar marzīhēnd (Kn II 5) - the stars Haftōirang and Šēr touch each other. The adverbial expression also determines the subject: harw čiš be sa-zēd be ahrāvīh (ŠnŠ XX 17) - all is fleeting except justice.

The concord of subject and predicate is not always adhered to; a predicate for a plural subject may stand in the singular (on revaluating the passive construction with concord between object of action and predicate - a new concord of subject and predicate is not always introduced). The attribute is usually uninflected; there are several examples for irregularities concerning category of number in sentence members, which, however, have no influence on syntactic relations:

har...pēramōn i Sāsān ēstēnd (Kn I 10) - all (literally: each) around Sāsān stand. windād-kāmag bawād wispan yazdān (ŠnŠ XXII 30) - let all the gods be persistent in their demands. čē dānākān guft ēstēt (Kn I 43) - what the wise men said. andar drang i zamanīg was ewēnag wahān i rēmanih dād (ŠnŠ XII 25) - in the course of time many kinds of causes of uncleanness he created.

Part III

WORD ORDER IN MIDDLE PERSIAN SENTENCE

Chapter I

The division of sentence into subject and predicate groups

The basic, dichotomic division of the sentence distinguishes the subject group and the predicate group. The subject group consists of its stem - the subject and its attributes:

Artaxšēr u pus i mas i Arđavān hač pas i hān gōr taxt (Kn I 32) - Artaxšēr and the oldest son of Arđavān after this donkey ran. māhīgān i framon pad 30 rōz i rāst (ŠnŠ XVII 3) - the ceremony after a month (is) on the 30th day exactly.

The predicate and its determinatives, adverbial and nominal, form a more differentiated group than that of the subject. This is due partly to a widely expanded category of adverbial expression: Arđavān apar man u tō u vasān martōm i andar gēhān pat tan u gyān u x^uāstak kāmkartar pātixšāh hast (Kn I 35) - Arđavān is the most independent ruler over me and you and many people in the world, over body and soul and fortune and property.

The general assumption that the sentence structure in Middle Persian has the predicate at the end of the sentence (for proof see pp. 45-48) defines at the same time the arrangement of groups in relation to each other. The sequence: subject group - predicate group is thus normal for Middle Persian and the majority of sentences are so constructed:

Spāhān u Pārs u kustihā i aviš nazdiktār | pat dast i Arđavān sarōār būt (Kn I 2) - Isfahan and Pārs and the nearest countries to him in the hands of Arđavān - the commander were. api-š | āmat (Kn II 17) - and he came. pad dēn āstawān būdan | ēd ku... (ŠnŠ XX 5) - to be a follower of truth in religion that (is) so, that...

Also: Kn I 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45; II 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19; III 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. ŠnŠ XI 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; XII beginning of paragraphs 1-8, 11-18, 20-22, 28, 30-32, also 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9-10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31; XIII 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51; XIV 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; XV 1, 2, 3, 4-5-6; similar examples in § 7, 9, 12, 14, 20, 25; § 11, 13, 19, 29; 8, 12, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28; XVI 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; XVII 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; XVIII 1, 2, 3, 4; XIX 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15; XX 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 14, 16, 18; XXI 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 8b; XXII 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 30, 31, 32; XXIII 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (in the majority of given places in the text sentences of the above mentioned patterns are repeated several times).

There are situations in which the predicate does not occupy its usual position and one of its complements follows it (see pp. 48-53). Then, however, the predicate group still forms a homogeneous whole and is preceded by the subject group:

stōr-pān | mat ō Arđavān (Kn III 2) - the marshal came to Arđavān. zam-yazad | - it be zanād dēw ud druz az tō mān (ŠnŠ XXII 28) - Zam-yazad is to exorcize the devs and devils from your home. harw kas | x^uārr bawād pad kāmāg I x^uābar ōhrmazd (ŠnŠ XXII 32) - everyone is to be happy according to the desire bringing the luck of Ōhrmazd. Also: Kn I 27, 38, 42, 43; II 4, 17; III 2, 14; ŠnŠ XI 6; XII 2, 16, 23, 29; XIII 4, 10, 18, 28, 30; XVIII 1; XIX 5, 6, 11; XXII 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 16, 18, 19, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32.

The predicate group does not form an inseparable whole and we often meet sentences in which it is divided by a subject group. This usually happens when the sentence contains an adverbial expression of place or time, although this is not always the rule. At any rate, the adverbial expression occupies an initial position in the sentence, then comes the subject with attributes followed by the rest of the sentence, that is predicate with other complements:

u andar dušx^uātāyīh i Alaksandar niyākān o virēk ēstāt (Kn I 7) - and during the evil reign of Alexander ancestors remained hidden. rōč-ē Arđavān apāk asvārān u Artaxšēr ō naxčir šut ēstāt (Kn I 31) - one day Arđavān with riders and Artaxšēr hunting went. kirbāg i drōn i segānag pad hūspāram frāyist dastwarān čāšt (ŠnŠ XII 1) - as to doing threefold "drōn" in Hūspāram many times the dasturs taught. bār i wīstom gannāg mēnōg staw bawēd (ŠnŠ XII 28) - at the twentieth time the evil spirit becomes helpless. Also: Kn I 1, 7, 20, 31, 46; II 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 16; III 10, 13, 18, 15. ŠnŠ XI 4; XII 1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32; XIII 9, 14, 28, 43, 51; XIV 2, 3, 5, 6; XV 6, 7, 8, 22, 23, 24, 28; XVI 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 14; XIX 14; XX 1, 2, 3, 5, 7; XXI 6, 8.

Here we can distinguish sentences in which the adverbial expression stands before the subordinate clause included in the main sentence. The subject group and predicate with other complements of the main sentence follow this included clause:

patvastak hamē pat šap | kā Arđavān i bē-šutak-baxt bē xuft | hān kanīčak pat nihān ō nazdīkīh i Artaxšēr šut (Kn II 3) - always, at night - when unhappy Arđavān was falling asleep - that girl secretly to Artaxšēr went. abar ōyšān | kē andar yaza-dān usōfrīd nē kunēnd | grān čiš be ēstēd (ŠnŠ XII 9-10) - outside of those - who do not pray to the gods - there is an important matter.

Also: Kn II 2, 3, 7, 9, 13 II 10

ŠnŠ XII 1, 7, 9-10 XVIII 2, 6.

The presented patterns of group position in the sentence, i. e.: subject group - predicate group and: adverbial - subject group - predicate group, appear in sentences stylistically unmarked; this is the common word order of the Middle Persian sentence. Even putting the adverbial expression at the beginning of the sentence does not seem to show a stylistic tinge, as the place of the adverbial is not closely defined even by custom nor the more so, syntactically conditioned. Naturally, the adverbial expression may be placed before the subject group for purposes of sentence stress. Thus the order: adverbial - subject group - predicate group has a twofold character - common order or marked, determined by the context and contents of the sentence.

If on the other hand, the direct or indirect object is separated from the predicate group and placed before the subject group, then we have to do with a stylistically marked order, as the natural place of the object is after the subject. The advanced object is the member on which the sentence stress falls:

ēn zanišn kē kart (Kn I 34) - this blow who inflicted? pat har ađvēnak parastišn... hān kanīčak kart ēstāt (Kn II 1) - all kind of services this girl performed. mardān zyān i tan ud x^uāstag bawēd (ŠnŠ XII 3) - to men in person and possessions it will be detrimental. čē dānākān guft ēstāt (Kn I 43) - what the wise men said. mādiž kirbāg i ham-ēwēnag i pid ō x^uēšīh rasēd

(ŠnŠ XII 5) - mother, as well as father glorious deeds concern. yaštārān I nask dād ān wēh (ŠnŠ XII 26) - among the priests of Vendidad this one (is) the best. ān 6 radīh x^uēš nē bawēd (ŠnŠ XIII 29) - to this one six estates belong. bahr... āš mā ē pačēd (ŠnŠ XV 12) - portions then he should not cook. harw čiš čārag ast be margīh, harw čiš ōmēd be drawandīh (ŠnŠ XX 17) - there is a remedy for everything except death, for every thing (there is) hope except evil.

The object may stand before the subject group for still other reasons:

Expressed by a pronoun it may take form of an enclitic pronoun and for this reason it must stand immediately after the first orthotonic word of the sentence or most frequently after the conjunction beginning the sentence, preceding the subject group:

api-š kārīvān-ē grōh-ē ō patīrak āmat (Kn III 17) - and him the caravan, the group went out to meet. uš bōy I pāk abar kunišn (ŠnŠ XII 12) - into it clean sandalwood should be put. kē-š band I pādyābīh ud apādyābīh awiš paywast ēstēd (ŠnŠ XII 22) - the one, to whom fetters of cleanliness and filth are tied. ku-m sar ud dast ud pāy ud wars ud rōy ud huzwān I tō ēdōn pad čašm (ŠnŠ XV 1) - your head and hand, and leg and hair and tongue are so visible to me. uš wahišt rōšnīh I ōhrmazd x^uēš bawēd (ŠnŠ XV 11, 13, 19, 29, 24) - and for him, the light of Ōhrmazd, should become his own. čē-š man čārag nē dānom (ŠnŠ XVIII 4) - because of it I know no remedy. tā-š x^uarrēh I gar ud kōf āfrīn kunēd (ŠnŠ XIX 12, 13, 14) - so that to him the glory of the mountains and peaks carries a blessing.

The position of the object as a relative pronoun introducing a subordinate clause is conditioned by this function:

hān xumr i-m dīt rast būt (Kn I 21) - the dream, which I saw, was real. har čē tō framāyē kunam (Kn II 11) - everything that you command I shall do. ...x^uarišn kē aziš čiš-ē kem (ŠnŠ XII 9-10) - food from which one thing (is) lacking. kār ud kirbāg

I pus kunēd pid bawēd (ŠnŠ XII 15) - deeds and things which the son accomplishes, become the father's. harw ān kirbāg I ōy pad ān sagrīh kunēd ōy ēdōn bawēd (ŠnŠ XII 16) - all those deeds, which he in satiation does, they become such. pad kamāg I kirbāg I-š warzīd (ŠnŠ XII 29) - through the glorious deeds, which he has done. wistarg ān dārēh I mardōmān dārēnd (ŠnŠ XV 1) - you have such clothes, as people have.

We also meet the division of the predicate group by the subject group in the type of construction "to somebody something is = somebody has something". The verb of existence supplies the character of this construction. Thus it is a different construction from the sentences given above with the advanced indirect object for stylistic reasons:

u Pāpak rāi hēč frazand i nām-burtār nē būt (Kn I 5) - and Pāpak had no son-heir (of his) name. u Pāpak rāi pus-ē hast (Kn I 24) - and Papak has a son. šmāh rāi pus-ē hast (Kn I 25) - you have a son. Arđavān rāi kanīčak-ē apāyīšnīk būt (Kn II 1) - Arđavān had a suitable girl. ka-iz ōy mard nān abēr was (ŠnŠ XII 16) - even if this man has very much bread. ...dēn ...i-š tōzišn nēst (ŠnŠ XII 28) - a religion which has no penance. ōy andar gēhān husrawīh bawēd (ŠnŠ XV 11, 13, 19, 29) - he will have in the world good words.

I have cited all the sentences from the text, in which the object is placed before the subject group.

In the texts we may also meet, though rarely, cases of inverted order of groups: the predicate group is placed before the subject group. Sentences with a stylistic tinge represent this order.

If these are sentences which stress the fact of being, they have the verbum existentiae "ast - būt", placed before the subject, and because of their contents have a specific character: ast | az wēh-dēnān (ŠnŠ XII 21) - there are (exist) such zo-roastrians. ast | kas I wēhtar (ŠnŠ XIII 50) - there is someone very good. ast | 278 wačadast ud 1016 gāh ud 5567 wāzag ud

9999 mārīg ud 16 554 x^uardag (ŠnŠ XIII 50) - there are 278 lines and 1016 chapters and 5567 words and 9999 syllables and 16 554 consonants. čē-š ān ast andar gēhān angōšīdag I x^uēš | gōspand I hudāg (ŠnŠ XV 11, 13, 19, 29) - that exists for him as an equivalent in the world a sacrificial flock.

In the texts I did not encounter any sentences of the type "there was a king" in which, in Indo-European languages the predicate is advanced. This does not mean, however, that there is no construction of this type in Middle Persian because the character of the texts did not require this type of sentence (though they might have been expected in Kn).

To this group also belong nominal sentences without copula, stating that "something is something" in which stress is put on the predicate:

ān | marq-ē dawāns nām (ŠnŠ XII 29) - behold the man, Davāns (is) his name. kardag I bun | tatsōitiš (ŠnŠ XIII 49) - the chapter, the beginning of which (is) "tatsōitiš". gāhān bun | ahyā yāsā uš sar | drigaoyē vahyō (ŠnŠ XIII 50) - (it is just) the beginning of Gatha "ahyā yāsā", and its end "drigaoyē vahyō". wināh I kamist | framan (ŠnŠ XVI 1) - framan (is) the smallest sin. pahrom čiš | rāstīh ud wattom čiš | druzanīh (ŠnŠ XX 14) - (is) the best thing the truth, and the worst thing a lie.

The opposite of these sentences are nominal sentences of regular word order as for example:

gyāg I garōdmān | wēh (ŠnŠ XI 3) - the place Garōdmān (is) the best. dušman dōst kardan | ēd (ŠnŠ XX 7) - making from an enemy a friend (is) what...

In sentences where we wish to stress an action the predicate may stand before the subject group as well:

ōy ast bēšazišnīh | ahunwar zartōšt ud ahrāyīh (ŠnŠ XII 32) - for that there is a remedy "ahunvar", O Zoroaster! and justice. frazāmēnīd hom | man dēn-bandag mihr-ābān I kai-husraw ērbad-zād (ŠnŠ XXI 8a) - I have finished - I, the servant of

religion, Mihr-Ābān the son of Kai-Husraw, born of the priesthood.

Naturally, exclamatory, optative and imperative sentences have the predicate - subject order. It is a regular order for them due to their character. Examples of this type are not numerous:

anōšak bēt | Artaxšēr (Kn III 20) - let Artaxšēr be immortal! - the only example of inverted group order in the text Kn. windād-kāmag bawād | wispan yazdān (ŠnŠ XXII 30) - let all the gods be persistent in their desires.

I have come across two sentences in ŠnŠ stylistically unmarked in which there is, nevertheless, an inversion of groups: uš guft | ōhrmazd (ŠnŠ XII 32) - and to him said Ōhrmazd. ēniz pursīd | zartōšt az ōhrmazd (ŠnŠ XVII 1) - about that Zoroaster asked Ōhrmazd.

I have given all the sentences with a changed order of groups.

In brief, the following kinds of group word order in the Middle Persian sentence may be distinguished:

The regular word order of the sentence not stylistically marked is as follows: the subject group - the predicate group or: the adverbial expression - the subject group - the predicate group.

Whereas in a stylistically or modally marked sentence the order of groups is: stressed member of the predicate group - the subject group - the predicate group or: the predicate group - the subject group.

We may also note the different area of usage of marked order in sentences of both these texts. Kn is a historical tale, so it is written in affirmative sentences in narrative style. On the other hand the text ŠnŠ containing many commands and moral and religious instructions has more sentences with changed word order.

Chapter II

Word order in the nominal group

The primary function of the nominal group in the sentence is the role of the subject group, i.e. subject and its defining attribute. The direct and indirect object are also always nominal. The nominal group may also be the form of every other member in the sentence: adverbial expression (generally as a prepositional phrase) and of the predicate (predicative expression).

The function of the nominal group in the sentence has no influence on the order of its components. The order of words in a nominal group may be conditioned by their lexical content, category of part of speech. That is why I shall consider not only the subject group as a dichotomic division of the sentence would indicate, but the nominal group of the Middle Persian sentence in general. The comments will, therefore, also concern appropriate members of the predicate group.

Fundamentally the sequence of members in the nominal group is as follows: the determined member - *izafet* - the determining member. A noun or other word taking its function - pronoun, infinitive, participle - is the primary. The determining member joined to determined by *izafet* decides about the use of such a construction.

We have to do with the order: determined - *izafet* - determining when:

The determining member is a noun with a genitive function:

Sāsān šupān i Pāpak būt (Kn I 6) - Sāsān was Pāpak's shepherd. ku rās i Pārs oš vitart (Kn III 8) - where the road (to) Pārs passed. pāyag i wīnah ēn and (ŠnŠ XI 1) - degrees of sin (are) such.

Also: Kn I 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 21, 24, 25, 32, 36, 37, 39 II 4, 5, 10, 13, 16, 17 III 6, 8, 20, 21, 22

ŠnŠ XI 1 XII 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 11, 14, 19, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32 XIII 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 15, 18, 19, 21, 32, 35, 42, 43 XIV 0 XV 6, 7, 9, 12, 14, 20, 27 XVII 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 XVIII 4 XIX 2, 14 XX 1, 3, 9 XXI 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 XXII 14, 18, 21, 32

The determining member is a noun in apposition: u Pāpak rāi hēč frazand i nām-burtār nē būt (Kn I 5) - and Pāpak had no child-heir to (his) name. dudgāw i zartōšt mād ka pad zartōšt ābistan būd... (ŠnŠ XII 11) - Dudgāv - mother of Zoroaster, when she was pregnant with Zoroaster... Also: Kn I 5

ŠnŠ XI 3 XII 11 XVIII 1 XXI 8b XXII 21

The determining member is an adjective: Ardavān rāi kanīčak-ē apāvišnīk būt (Kn II 1) - Ardavān had a siutable girl. (particle -ē here performs the function of *izafet* - Nyberg, p. 63, entry "-ē¹"). and čand yašt-ē i keh (ŠnŠ XII 1) - it is so much as the little Yašna. ast kas i wēhtar (ŠnŠ XII 27) - there exists a very good man.

Also: Kn I 32 II 3, 5, 13 III 5

ŠnŠ XI 6 XII 1, 12, 17, 23, 28, 30 XIII 2 XIV 2, 5 XV 2, 8, 15, 16, 24 XVI 1 XVII 5, 6 XX 6, 7 XXII 3, 20, 22, 29

The determining member is a pronoun: kanīčak i man apāk Artaxšēr virēxt šūt (Kn III 3) - my girl with Artaxšēr eloped. apāk pus i x^uēš o Pārs griftan i Artaxšēr rāi āmat (Kn III 22) - with his son to Pārs in order to seize Artaxšēr he went. čē-š ān ast andar gēhān angōšīdag i x^uēš gōs-pand i hūdag (ŠnŠ XV 11, 13, 19, 29) - when there is for him an equivalent sacrificial flock in the world. paywandān i ōy čī-šīz gōšt nē x^uarišn (ŠnŠ XVII 2) - his relatives should not eat any meat.

Also: Kn I 16, 20, 25, 28, 43, 46 II 4, 6, 9, 10, 12 III 14

ŠnŠ XII 15, 20 XIII 48 XV 2, 3, 11, 13, 19, 29 XVII 2, 3, 5 XX 5

The determining member is an ordinal numeral or numeral pronoun:

rōč i dītkar panjak frasang raft hand (Kn III 16) - on the se-

cond day 50 frasangs went. māhigān I framon pad 30 rōz I rāst (ŠnŠ XVII 5) - the ceremony after the passing of a month (is) on the 30th day exactly.

Also: ŠnŠ XIII 2 XVII 5, 6

The determining member is a prepositional phrase or a group containing an adverb:

api-šān varrak-ē i apēr stafr... hamē davist (Kn III 10) - and with them the lamb very strong was escaping. mēnōg I hamāg urwar I pad gētīg ō pēš ōy mard bālāy be ēstēnd (ŠnŠ XV 27) - the spirits of all plants in the world should grow before man.

Also: Kn I 2, 45 III 18

ŠnŠ XII 12 XIII 47 XVI 0

In one instance the determining member is an adverb: mādiz kirbag I ham-ēwēnag I pid ō x^uēš īh rasēd (ŠnŠ XII 5) - glorious deeds concern both mother and father.

If the nominal groups is composed of a subordinating and two subordinate members of the types mentioned above, joined by izafet, there are 3 possibilities:

1. most frequently the second determinant determines the first one, and both as a whole determine the subordinating member:

N i (P₁ i P₂)

x^uatāy i miyān i asmān hač-ađar brāđ i miθr ēstēt. (Kn III 6) - the ruler of the middle of the heavens stands below "Brād" of the sun. ud šnāyēnīdan I āsēn I widāxtag ēn (ŠnŠ XV 15) - the appeasing of molten metal (is) what...

Also: Kn I, 6, 8, 23 III 15, 21

ŠnŠ XII 1, 8, 15 XIII 3, 22 XXI 1

2. the second determinant determines whole preceeding it group:

(N i P₁) i P₂

Artaxšēr u pus i mas i Arđavān hač pas i hān gōr taxt (Kn I 32) - Artaxšēr and the oldest son of Ardavān after the donkey ran.

3. both determinants determine equally the subordinating member and might be joined by conjunction or comma:

N i (P i P)

x^uaršēt u pīl i spēt i ārāstak čērīh u tuvānikīh pērōžīh (Kn I 13) - the sun and a white, equipped elephant (is) bravery and power.

With the same arrangement of members as in the previous group, that is when the determining term follows the determined one may appear a construction without the izafet link.

This occurs when the determinant is a noun in apposition, though usually apposition is joined to the primary by izafet:

čīxōn kā ātur fārn-bāx u gušnasp u burzēn miθr pat xānak i Sā-sān hamē vaxšēnd (Kn I 11) - as if in the house of Sasan burnt the fire farnbax and gusnasp and burzen miθr. ān mard-ē dawāns nām (ŠnŠ XII 29) - behold the man of the name Davāns.

Also: Kn I 13

ŠnŠ XII 29 XX 11 XXI 8a XXII 9, 17

Adjectival, nominal ((genitive) and numeral attribute may also occupy a position after the determined member without the izafet link:

apar hān i x^uēš x^uatāi kāmak-hanjam u pērōžkar bavēt (Kn II 6) - over him he will become a lord executing his will and a victor. Artaxšēr asp dō hač bārakān i Arđavān... zēn kart (Kn II 14) - Artaxšēr two horses from Ardavān's steed saddled. amāh harw tan-ē dāyag-ē I x^uēš ō gētīg dād ēstēd (ŠnŠ XV 4) - we all gave our protectress to the world. čē zāmig purr xrafstr be bawēd (ŠnŠ XX 18) - because the world is becoming full of monsters.

Also: Kn I 42, 45 II 6, 14, 17 III 7

ŠnŠ XI 2 XII 25 XII 15 XV 4, 8 XVI 0, 1, 3 XVIII 10

Such a construction may also be found when the determining member is a prepositional phrase, which is however rather rare:

kā-šān zanišn pat hān ađvēnak dīt (Kn I 34) - when they saw this kind of blow. u nūn-ič handarz i man ō tō ēn saxttar (Kn I 46) - and now my advice to you so earnest (is).

Also: Kn I 56 II 8, 12, 14

ŠnŠ XII 19

I have also come across the usage of adverbs as a subordinate in the following constructions:

hač ganj i Arđavān... dēnār vas u zrēh... u zēnafčār i pērāstak vasyār stāt (Kn II 13) - from Ardavān's treasury many dinars, armour-plates and a saddle with accessories embellished greatly he took. pas az sedōš rōzagīhā dāštan xānag ō ātaxš zōhr dādan kunišn (ŠnŠ XII 5) - after passing "sedōš" days of abstinence at home, the sacrifice of "zōhr" to fire should be made.

Another order, just as frequently used as in the case of the izafet construction is the sequence: the determining member - the determined member. Such a construction is used when:

The determining member is a noun functioning as an attribute in genitive:

ađak har sē šap xumr... pēš i avēšān guft (Kn I 12) - then the dream of all the three nights to them he related. dīt-ič murv-nī-šān sarđār ō pēš mat (Kn II 6) - then the leader of soothsayers from a bird's eye view appeared. gāhān bun ahyā yāsā (ŠnŠ XIII 50) - the beginning of Gatha (is) "ahyā yāsā".

Also: Kn I 30 II 3 III 5, 6

ŠnŠ XII 5, 8, 9-10, 13, 15, 16, 19, 21, 23, 27 XIII 2, 9, 11, 17, 18, 19, 30, 44 XIV 4 XV 1, 2, 7, 9, 10, 23 XVII 8, 9 XIX 2, 5, 7, 10, 15 XX 1, 5, 6 XXI 4

The determining member is a noun in apposition: pas hač marg i Alaksandar i hromīk Erān šaṭr 200 u 40 katak-x^uatāi būt (Kn I 1) - after the death of Alexander the Greek in the country Iran there were 240 rulers. i hač tōxmāk i Sāsān u hač Dārāp šāh apar rust hēh (Kn II 17) - you who from the line of Sāsān, and Darius the King descended.

Also: Kn I 2 II 5, 10

The determining member is an adjective: har kē bandak mart... rasēt (Kn II 6) - any serving man will

come. nē kas az ān i asrōšdār mard... rasēt ō ān i pahlom ax^uān (ŠnŠ XII 2) - none of the disobedient people will attain the Best Existence. kē tuxšāg mard abar ēstēd (ŠnŠ XX 3) - ...which a careful man tends.

Also: Kn I 18, 43

The determining member is a pronoun and adjective numeral:

čē andar hamāg abistāg yaṭā-ahū-vairyō mēh ud pērōzgartar pad harwisp rōd ud harwisp bāšazišnīh ud harwisp pānagīh (ŠnŠ XIX 14) - because in all Avesta the priest yaṭā-ahū-vairyō (is) the greatest and most victorious in the face of all rivers and remedies and protection.

Also: Kn I 9, 11, 12, 23, 30, 45 II 1, 13

ŠnŠ XI 4, 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9-10, 23, 29 XII 8 XIII 4, 28 XIV 2, 3 XV 7, 9, 23, 26, 27 XVII 2, 8 XIX 1, 12, 13, 14 XX 2, 3, 14, 17 XXI 7, 8, XXII 1, 10, 20, 31

The determining member is a pronoun most frequently demonstrative and indefinite:

x^uēš-tan varč ō avin-būtīh mā apaspār (Kn I 46) - your glory for an unprofitable matter do not devote. har kē bandak mart... ō vazurgīh u pātixšāyīh rasēt (Kn II 6) - whatever serving man to might and glory will come. man pus tō-iz pus šāyēd (ŠnŠ XII 14) - it ought to be that my son should be your son. ud kē ēn panz frahang nēst (ŠnŠ XIII 29) - and who has not these 5 principles of education...

Also: Kn I 5, 10, 13, 14, 20, 21, 32, 34, 37, 23, 44 II 3, 7, 8, 9, 17, 18 III 5, 9, 15, 19, 20, 21

ŠnŠ XI 6 XII 4, 5, 8, 14, 16, 29, 32 XIII 7, 8, 15, 19 XV 23, 27 XVII 2, 7 XX 2, 6 XXI 7 XXII 31

The determining member is a numeral:

pas sitīkar šap hamgōnak ētōn dīt (Kn I 11) - then on the third night thus he saw... framān-ē 3 drahm sang ud dāng 4 (ŠnŠ XI 2) - "framan" (is) three drahms of measure and four dangs.

Also: Kn I 1, 12, 27, 33, 45 II 6, 14, 17 III 2, 9, 12, 16, 17

ŠnŠ XI 2 XII 20, 26, 32 XIII 4, 6, 7 XIV 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, XVII 2 XX 15 XXI 2

The determining member is a prepositional phrase or a group beginning with an adverb:

hač pitarān u niyākān i tō kas būt kē... (Kn I 14) - of your fathers and forefathers there was someone who... pad āb ō da-hān madan warōmand bawēd. (ŠnŠ XII 21) - it becomes doubtful due to water filling the mouth.

Also: Kn I 2, 12, 13 II 16

ŠnŠ XII 27 XIII 47 XVIII 4 XX 5, 7

The determining member is an adverb:

hač ganj i Arđavān... apārīk vas čiš stāt (Kn II 13) - from the treasury of Arđavān he took many other things. ka-iz was bār be yazēd (ŠnŠ XII 9-10) - as if he sacrificed many times.

Also: Kn I 19, 27 II 5, 17 III 10

ŠnŠ XII 8, 9-10, XIII 30, 35

In the following sentences it is difficult to state which member of the nominal group is determined and which determining. The difficulty arises from the fact that members of the group belong to the same part of speech:

apāk kurtān šupānān raft (Kn I 7) - he walked with Kurdish shepherds (or: with the shepherds=Kurds). tāk čand rōč pat x^uarišn i dārišn nēvak u sačak-vār parvart (Kn I 19) - so that during several days in the cost of living he will be well and adequately treated (or to take izafet as a conjunction: so that in several days in food and living well and adequately he will be treated - Nyberg, p. 49 of glossary, entry "dārišn").

Summing up it is possible to distinguish two kinds of order in the nominal group: one, in which the determining member follows the determined one and the other in which the former precedes the latter. The determining member coming after the determined one is usually joined to it by izafet.

The ways of using respective constructions are not strictly defined, and so: an adjective and a noun (genitive) generally follow the determined member, on the other hand a numeral and

adverb precede it. The ratio is as follows: for 101 examples of the noun in genitive and 30 adjectives - connected to the primary by izafet there are 49 examples of them before the primary. 35 times the numeral is found before the noun, and 6 times after it. An adverb is placed more frequently before the primary (11 to 2). The noun in apposition in 17 cases is found after the determined word, 6 times before it. On the other hand examples of placing the prepositional phrase before and after the primary are practically even (17 : 16). A possessive pronoun is almost always placed after the noun while a demonstrative or indefinite before it.

When analysing the nominal group one can be guided by the affiliation of the determining member to one or the other part of speech, but one must take deviations into account. E. g. the presence of a numeral or an adverb after the determined member is rather rare but of no stylistic value.

Finding the sequence of appearance of the determined and determining member is the most important problem in the nominal group. One may observe also other problems connected with the order of words in the sentence:

E. g. the construction of the prepositional phrase. It is evident from the previous observations that being as a whole the determining member in a group the prepositional phrase generally occupies the position after the member which it determines. As a determinant of its functions the prepositional phrase contains different prepositions (pat, ō, pēš, abar etc.) and one postposition (rāi). I found two examples of prepositions in the postposition place:

hān varrak iš-apāk pat asp čē nimāyēt (Kn III 19) - this lamb, which (is) with him on the horse, what does it mean? (with a suffixed pronoun). ēn 3 ašemwohū kē frawarānē pēš nīrang (ŠnŠ XIII 1) - these three "ašemvohū", which (are) before "fravarānē", (are) nīrangs.

Besides these examples the above morphemes are in their proper places.

In the texts we also encounter the divided subject group or in general the nominal group, when the determinant does not stand directly next to the determined member:

harw čiš čārag ast be margih harw čiš ōmēd be drawandih harw čiš be sazēd be ahrāyih harw čiš wirāstan šāyēd be gōhr ud harw čiš wardīdan šāyēd be bagō-baxi (ŠnŠ XX 17) - there is a remedy for everything except death, there is hope for everything except evil, everything is fleeting except justice, everything may be corrected except character and everything may be reversed except a divine decision. sāyag ī nēmrōz x^uab frazām bawād (ŠnŠ XXI 3) - the end (of prayer) of shade of noon may it be good. x^uarr-it girād brāzyāg pad mayān hambudigān (SnS XII 11) - let the shining glory preserve you among your opponents.

The above example exhausts this problem which means that this order is rather incidental.

We can also find a separation of the nominal group in the construction with a member moved to the beginning of the sentence when its equivalent (in the shape of the pronoun) with qualifiers is within the sentence:

pōryōtkēšān - kē hurastagihātar kard - ka-šān pad šab x^uarišn x^uard (ŠnŠ XII 19) - priests who acted in an orthodox manner when they at night partook of their meal... mard-ē ka-š yašt kard ēstēd (ŠnŠ XII 30) - a man, when he did yast... (this construction is more broadly treated when discussing the beginning of the sentence, p. 58-59).

Chapter III

Order of members in the predicate group

The large predicate group occupies two positions in the sentence: part of the members may stand at the beginning of the

sentence and part of them at the end. This order is the result of two circumstances: 1^o the predicate takes the final position, 2^o at the same time the possibility of placing an adverbial expression at the beginning of the Middle Persian sentence is characteristic. The subject group appearing in such a sentence separates this adverbial expression from the rest of the predicate group (examples of such an order of members are given when the order of syntactical groups is discussed, pp. 30-33).

The distribution of members of the predicate group shapes the sentence; the subject group as less developed and more uniform does not play an important role as far as the order of members in the sentence is concerned.

In most cases the order of words in the predicate group is as follows: adverbial expression - direct object - indirect object - predicate.

Some of the components determining the predicate may not appear, depending on grammatical and lexical contents of the predicate and also on the information which is to be conveyed by this sentence:

Arđavān pat Staxr nišast (Kn I 4) - Ardavān in Istahr settled. ān šap ētōn dīt (Kn I 10) - on a certain night this (he) saw. rōšnīh ō hamāk gēhān dahēnd (Kn I 11) - light to the whole world I give. Sāsān hač Pāpak pašt ū zīnhār x^uast (Kn I 15) - Sāsān from Pāpak a promise and safety demanded. ka ēwag did rāy ul yazēd (ŠnŠ XI 6) - if someone worships one (part) for another (god). 3 rōz pānag ī az dēwān jādūgān ud parīgān rāy pad šab tā rōz ātaxš rōšn kunišn (ŠnŠ XII 12) - 3 days as a defender against the devs, spirits and witches from night to day fire should give light. ōhrmazd ī x^uadāy andar gētīg 3 čiš dād ēstēd kē man čišiz kardan nē tawān (ŠnŠ XVIII 1) - Ōhrmazd, the ruler in the world three things created, about which I must not do anything.

Also: Kn I 1, 2, 4; 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46 II 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, III 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 ŠnŠ XI 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, XII 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 XIII 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 37, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 51 XIV 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, XV 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 (7, 9, 12, 14, 20, 25), 25 (12, 14, 25), 12, 14 (11, 13, 19, 29), 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, XVI 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 XVII 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 XVIII 1, 4 XIX 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, XX 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 XXI 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, XXII 2, 5, 8, 12, 15, 16, 19, 21, 23, 26, 30, 32 XXIII 3, 4

In the above enumerated paragraphs of the texts the given sentence pattern is at times repeated several times.

This pattern corresponds to sentences with unmarked order. There are subjunctive sentences among them and others with a modally marked predicate, which reveal their character only in the grammatical form of the verb, without using word order as a means of expression. On the other hand sentences having such a predicate and also using marked order are discussed on pp. 49, 51-52.

The above mentioned pattern may be rearranged without effecting the character of the predicate group, nor thus of the whole sentence, which means that we still have to do with the unmarked order.

The changes may be as follows:

1. Direct object and indirect object are reversed:

ō Ōhrmazd aōyārīh dahēnd (Kn II 5) - (they) give to the planet Jupiter help. pad ōyšān wāz ē gīrēd (ŠnŠ XV 25) - to them (he) should keep (his) word.

Also: Kn I 9, 25 II 5 III 20

ŠnŠ XIII 29 XV 1, 25 XXII 26, 31

2. The adverbial expression occupies different positions. It may stand as mentioned above, at the beginning of the sentence, and also following the subject group, before or after the object, immediately before the predicate or after it (the latter is discussed on pp. 49, 51-52).

Sāsān rāz i x^uēš... pēš i Pāpak guft (Kn I 16) - Sāsān his secret before Pāpak said. apī-š pas duxt i x^uēš pat zanīh dāt (Kn I 20) - and then he gave him his daughter as a wife. pad šab x^uarišnīg čīš ō abāxtar nē rēzišn (ŠnŠ XII 18) - at night nothing of drinks until midnight should be poured. āš andar gē-hān dērang zamān husrawīh ud nēwagīh bawēd (ŠnŠ XV 8) - then for him in the world a long time good words and goodness will endure. ēd rāy čē rawān I ōy az dast I dēwān 3 rōz srōš be tawān buxtan (ŠnŠ XVII 3) - because his soul from the hands of devs in three days Srōš may save.

Also: Kn I 7, 12, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 25, 31, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40, II 3, 7, 8, 10, 15, 18 III 4, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 20

ŠnŠ XI 4, XII 2, 3, 4, 14, 13, 15, 16, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30 XIII 2, 5, 6, 7, 19, XIV 2, 3, XV 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 15, 16, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28 XVI 2, 3, 4, 6, XVII 6, 8, 12, 14, XVIII 4 XIX 5, 15, XX 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 18, XXII 13, 17, 21

If there are several adverbial expression in a sentence, their sequence is not limited by any definite conditions; nevertheless we may find several patterns, probably established by custom: first, frequently at the beginning of the sentence are adverbials of time and place (direction) then others. I am not going details as the problem belongs to semantics, I shall only confine myself to several examples:

Pāpak šap-ē pat xumr dīt (Kn I 9) - Pāpak at night in his dream saw. Patvastak hamē pat šap... hān kanīčak pat nihān ō nazdīkīh i Artaxšēr šut (Kn II 3) - repeatedly, always at night the girl secretly to Artaxšēr went. andar nask dād gowizār nimūd ēstēd (ŠnŠ XII 6) - in Vendidad clearly is shown. mardōmān rawīšn ō ēn 3 gyāg abērtar kunišn (ŠnŠ XX 8) - people should direct their steps more frequently to those three places.

3. There are examples of placing the negative particle "nē" not immediately before the predicate:

tō nē dānākīhā kart (Kn I 42) - you did not act wisely. kā-t pat čiš-ē kē zyān nē hačš šāyist būtan apāk vazurgān stēžak burt (Kn I 42) - about something, of which there can be no harm, with the greats you argued. Artaxšēr apāk dō bārak i šmāh nē pat gyāk hast (Kn III 2) - Artaxšēr with your two horses is not here (the opposing to this is: kanīčak pat gyāk nē būt (Kn III 1) - the sentences speak of the same event, so they express the same thought and an emotional tinge). mā anēmēd dārēh kasiz az wahišt (ŠnŠ XII 28) - do not leave anybody without hope of heaven. āš nē pad guft dārišn (ŠnŠ XIV 2) - later it cannot be considered as uttered.

In other sentences the particle is always found immediately before the member which it negates, e. g.:

u Pāpak rāi hēč frazand i nām-burtār nē būt (Kn I 5) - and Pāpak had no son - heir to his name. nē kas... rasēd ō ān i pahlom ax^u ān (ŠnŠ XII 2) - no one attained the Best Existence.

Whereas marked character is given by a change in the order of members where the object is put before the subject group. Such sentences were discussed in the chapter on the division of the sentence into the subject and predicate group (pp. 31-33):

ēn zanišn kē kart (Kn I 34) - this blow who struck?

So far I have discussed the predicate group in which the predicate itself occupied the final position in the sentence and its determinants were found in different places, which was important among other things for distinguishing the common order and the occasional.

Separately I noted sentences with the predicate group in which the predicate did not occupy the final position. Of about 1300 sentences studied there are over 100 with this word order including sentences where the subject follows the predicate, which was discussed earlier (pp. 33-35).

At the moment I am interested in sentences in which the predicate group is constructed so that the predicate is followed by one of its determinants.

The most important reason for switching the predicate from the final position are expressive and impressive considerations. This is the normal order for voluntative sentences where the stress falls on the verb. It is shown in the tendency to put the predicate as close as possible to the beginning of the sentence. Then the predicate is followed by the object or adverbial or both these members together:

nūn-ič bōžišn gōš pat patitūk mārīk (Kn I 43) - now for forgiveness ask in the penitential formula. bē nikīr tāk hān vinās-kār apāk hān jēh i ruspīk (Kn III 5) - behold the evil doer with the harlot. be barišn az ātaxš angašt i afsard ud abārīg (ŠnŠ XII 3) - cold charcoal and the rest should be taken out of the fire. wizihēnd mādagwar abar huhēmīh ud rāst-gōwišnīh i mard ud kunišn i mādayānag (ŠnŠ XII 22) - they should choose a man especially because of his good character and just speech and perform proper rituals. mā anēmēd dārēh kasiz az wahišt ud mā ē nihēnd ōstigānīhā mēnišn abar dōšax^u padīš (ŠnŠ XII 28) - do not leave anybody without hope of heaven and (people) should not set their thoughts on hades, on it. ōhrmazd dahād pādrōz mehtar pāyag ud gāh (ŠnŠ XXII 1) - Ōhrmazd can give (you) every day a higher position and place.

Also: Kn II 18

ŠnŠ XII 8, 24 XXII 3 and many similarly constructed sentences in chapter XXII ŠnŠ.

The unfinal position of the predicate is also found in declarative or interrogative sentences which do not have a voluntative tinge, are not stylistically motivated.

These may be divided into groups:

1. The most characteristic and uniform is the group of sentences, in which the verb is followed by infinitive. As the verb is usually impersonal "tūvān, šāyēt, apāyēt" and the like, this

should be treated as a whole as the predicate consisting of auxiliary verb, which will be one of the above mentioned verbs and infinitive. Here we can see the difference between the order of such a predicate and a nominal one in which the auxiliary word follows the nominal member closely defining the meaning of the whole predicate:

Sāsān šupān i Pāpak būt (Kn I 6) - Sāsān was the shepherd of Pāpak. This difference has no significance for the problem described.

The sequence: verb - infinitive thus concerns the structure of predicate and the order of elements within it, but as it is, however, a developed structure and can be separated by another member I am discussing it here:

dušman pat dušman hān nē tuwān kartan (Kn I 43) - an enemy to an enemy cannot do this. kaō šāyēm griftan (Kn III 5) - when can we seize? čiš i ōhrmazd kāmēd abzūdan (ŠnŠ XV 7, 9, 12, 14, 20) - he wishes to support the affairs of Ōhrmazd. hangām kadār ka gōšt nē abāyēd x^uardan (ŠnŠ XVII 1) - at what time should not meat be eaten?

Also: Kn I 38, 42, 43 II 17 III 5, 14, 15.

ŠnŠ XI 3 XII 4, 19, 30 XIII 7, 18 XV 9, 10, 14, 25 XVII 1, 3, 5, 6, 9 XIX 5, 6, 11 XX 13

The determinants of such a predicate may be grouped immediately next to the infinitive, composing with it a group placed after the auxiliary verb, they may also precede it, e. g.:

pas hač hān Artaxšēr nē hišt ō asp nišastan (Kn I 38) - he would not permit Artaxšēr to mount his horse. harw kas pad ēn abē-gumān ud hamdādistān abāyēd būdan (ŠnŠ XI 3) - everyone should be without doubt and in accord with it.

We also meet sentences in which the infinitive, used in the same role as above, precedes the verb. This would indicate that the order: finite verb - infinitive is not marked, but in such cases as below, the infinitive is placed before the verb for the purpose of underlining the significance of the former, important for the meaning of the sentence:

harw čiš wardīdan šāyēd be bagō-baxt (ŠnŠ XX 17) - all may be reversed except divine decisions.

2. The adverbial expression following the predicate may be a stylistical feature but not necessarily.

The sentence stress applied to the adverbial expression determines its position, yet the adverbial has no fixed place even in a stylistically neutral sentence. It may occupy an initial position, precede objects or follow them.

For emphatic purpose the adverbial is placed either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence. The latter is not easy to detect as it is not always possible to decide whether stress in the given sentence is really placed on the adverbial at the end of the sentence. The following examples may illustrate the position of the adverbial expression discussed above:

čē hamē vēnēt pat čiš i haftān u duvāzdahān u ēstīšn u ravišn i stārakān (Kn II 4) - what do you see in connection with number 7 and 12 and the stopping of the stars and their motion? nē kas az ān i asrōšdār mard... rasēd ō ān i pahlom ax^uān (ŠnŠ XII 2) - none of the disobedient people will attain the Best Existence.

It is difficult to judge whether the adverbials are placed after the predicate for stylistic reasons. Because of this I group together all the sentences in which the adverbial expression occupies a post-predicate position (except for the volutative sentences mentioned). In all these kinds of sentences there are no apparent reasons why the predicate should be moved from its usual position at the end of the sentence. The sentences have no stylistic tinge, the more so as the grammatical form shows no need for changing the order:

srūt nāzīk (Kn II 2) - he sang pleasantly. stōr-pān mat ō Arōāvān (Kn III 2) - the equerry came to Ardavān. čēōn gōwēd pad sakātūm (ŠnŠ XII 2) - so it is said in "Sakātūm" (such a construction is used when religious authorities are referred to). ayāb barsom sar ō abāxtar dārēd nigīrīšnīh (ŠnŠ XIV 2) - or he holds

a sacrificial wand carefully by its top northwards. kē ō wināh wizārdan šawēd druz be barišnīg rāy (ŠnŠ XIX 5) - who goes to atone for his sins in order to drive out the drues.

Also: Kn I 27 II 2, 4 III 2

ŠnŠ XI 6 XII 2, 4, 8, 16, 19, 22, 23, 28 XIII 4, 8, 18, 28, 43 XIV 2 XVI 2 XVII 5 XVIII 1 XIX 4, 5, 14 XXI 4, 8, 14 XXII 5, 13, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32

This type clearly points to the rather free word order in the Middle Persian sentence. The adverbial is the member having the least restriction in choice of position. So its final position cannot be considered as unusual but as one of the possible ones, a typical because it violates the rule of the final position of the predicate.

Taking into consideration the final position of the predicate in Middle Persian the deviations should be noted:

Placing a member after the predicate in voluntative sentences is an Indo-European phenomenon and the regular order of this type in comparison to the tendency to place it as near the beginning of the sentence as possible: (H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, pp. 234, 254).

When we have to do with other sentences we must consider the conditions under which the inversion of regular word order could have taken place. Here several types may be differentiated where the predicate is followed by the subject, object, adverbial or infinitive (being in reality a part of the predicate).

The presence of the subject after the predicate is explained by the sentence stress falling on the predicate which causes its shift towards beginning of the sentence.

A stressed adverbial may be found at the end of the sentence if it was not placed at the beginning.

Other cases, however, which cannot be explained by stylistic reasons seem to be remains of the free word order Old Persian.

In the texts we find cases of separation of predicate group members:

These are examples of separating the predicative from the copula:

hač tō farrax^utar andar gēhān kas nē bavēt (Kn II 10) - than you a more revered person in the world there will not be. kār ud kirbag ī pus kunēd pid ēdōn bawēd čeōn... (ŠnŠ XII 15) - works and deeds which the son accomplishes, become the father's as if... čē-š ān ast andar gēhān angōsīdag ī x^uēs gōs-pand ī hudāg (ŠnŠ XV 11, 13, 19, 29) - since his equivalent in the world is the sacrificial flock.

Also: Kn II 10, 12 III 6

ŠnŠ XII 5 XV 12 XXI 3

The following grammatical construction is used quite frequently probably resulting from a lack of formal means of expressing the object or certain kinds of adverbials: the member is placed at the beginning of the sentence in the nominative case and then repeated in the form of enclitical pronoun joined to the preposition designating the actual syntactical function of that member: hān kē ēn xumr pati-š dīt (Kn I 13) - the one, about whom this dream was seen... ātaxš ka-š asfard angašt aziš pāk be kunēd (ŠnŠ XII 3) - when we clear out cold coal from the fire ... I-š be ōy awiš mad (ŠnŠ XII 5) - to which this approached. Also: Kn I 42 III 18

ŠnŠ XII 9-10, 13, 22, 24, 28 XV 3 XX 7

A syntactical classification of the enclitic pronoun is impossible when it functions as an indirect object or attribute, as in such a case the genitive of this pronoun does not differ from the dative. It is difficult, then, to say whether we have to do with an indirect object moved to the forefront and at the same time with a divided predicate group or with an attribute of the subject or other noun coming after this pronoun. Translators of such texts treat these pronouns in all instances as attributes for the consequent. I shall simply give sentences in which we have to do with this phenomenon:

api-mān kāmāk (Kn I 25) - so such is our will (so will is to

me - I have the will). kā-t čašm ō zrēh ōftāt (Kn II 18) - when your eyes fall on the sea (when for you the eyes fall on the sea). tā-š kār rawāgtar šawēd (ŠnŠ XIX 13) - thus his work shall become more efficient (so that for him work will become more efficient).

Also: Kn II 9

ŠnŠ XI 4 XII 9-10, 13, 22, 28, 30, 31 XIII 16 XV 1, 6, 11, 13, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 29 XVI 2, 3, 4 XVIII 10, 12, 14 XIX 2

To sum up, it may be stated that in the predicate group there are several possibilities of arrangement of members within the frame of unmarked word order:

If the predicate is at the end of the group and sentence the position of other members of the group (except the shifting of object to the forefront of the sentence, which is a stylistic phenomenon) does not change the character of the sentence, it is permissible within the framework of the normal order. Placing the adverbial expression after the predicate or forming a predicate consisting of finite verb and infinitive may have an unmarked character but may also be a stylistic feature. It is difficult to settle the question within the limits of syntactical studies, it would be necessary to take semantics into consideration.

On the other hand, placing the subject in the initial position of the sentence or group, or placing it at the end is a phenomenon concerning marked order or sentences stylistically marked.

In the predicate group there are problems of word order connected with enclitic pronoun: the problem of the place it occupies in the sentence, the impossibility of distinguishing whether its function is that of indirect object or subject attribute, and the construction in which the enclitic pronoun affixed to the preposition is a repetition of a member appearing earlier.

Chapter IV

The beginning of the sentence

While in principle, the end of the Middle Persian sentence is the predicate, which was shown in the previous chapter, its beginning may comprise various members and expressions.

In the great majority of sentences the initial position is occupied by the subject group, or more accurately, the subject or determinant preceding it, e.g.:

axtar-mārān sarōār zamān handāxt (Kn III 6) - the chief of astrologers the time measured. frazand aziš zāyēd (ŠnŠ XIII 5) - a child of her shall be born. agar az ōyšān ēwag čiš-ē be duzdīd (ŠnŠ XVIII 4) - if someone of them something has stolen.

Frequently the adverbial is pushed forward, which is due to the ease with which this member can be placed before the subject group:

rōč-ē Arđavān dānākān u axtar-mārān... ō pēš x^uāst (Kn II 4) - one day Ardavān the wise men and astrologers summoned. pad nask dād dastwarān čāšt (ŠnŠ XII 20) - In Vendidad the dasturs taught.

In sentences of expressive order the initial position is occupied by the member on which the sentence stress falls. As appears from the above remarks this may be object and predicate (in sentences stylistically marked):

hač Sāsān apāyēt-būtan rāi andar zamān hān kanīčak āpustan būt (Kn I 20) - by Sāsān as it should be, in time the girl was pregnant. anōšak bāt Artaxšēr (Kn III 20) - let Artaxšēr be immortal! kē ēn panz frahang nēst - ān 6 radīh x^uēš be bawēd (ŠnŠ XIII 29) - these 6 chiefs do not belong to those who do not possess the 5 principles of learning.

For Middle Persian the characteristic sentence pattern begins with the enclitic pronoun affixed to the copulative conjunction "u(d), api". This pronoun functions as a subject, object or attribute:

api-š hač Vahrām u Anāhīt pat kustak (Kn II 5) - and he (is) sideways to Mars and Venus. u-š hamē pardāzēnd (ŠnŠ XII 24) - and this they always apply.

Also: Kn 12, 14, 15, 20, 21, 25, 27, 28, 34, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42 II 5, 6, 9, 18 III 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17, 18, 21
ŠnŠ XII 1, 2, 8, 9-10, 14, 15, 16, 22, 23, 24, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32 XIII 2, 7, 16, 19, 50 XV 1, 6, 8, 9, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29 XVI 2, 3, 4 XVII 8, 10, 12, 13, 14 XVIII 1, 4 XIX 2, 5, 12, 13, 14 XX 7, 18

It is worth pausing a little over the enclitic pronoun and its place in the Middle Persian sentence, as a phenomenon may be found here not often met in other languages. The very affixing of this pronoun to a conjunction, a word by nature and origin nonorthotonic, is rather curious. This is not a conjunction of adverbial origin. We must, therefore assume that such a conjunction (which is, moreover, often used at the beginning of the sentence chain, not in fact functioning copulatively) was evidently treated as an orthotonic expression.

Except for this instance the enclitic pronoun occupies the second place in the sentence, as is found in Indo-European languages, being affixed to a noun, independent pronoun or adverb:

māh-it abāgīh dahād (ŠnŠ XXII 12) - Māh can give you help.
Also: ŠnŠ XXII 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31

kē-š tōb abar ō dandān kunēd (ŠnŠ XII 13) - whoever touches his skin to teeth. hān xumr - i-m dīt - rašt būt (Kn I 21) - this dream, which I saw, was real.

Also: Kn III 19

ŠnŠ XII 2, 3, 5, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29 XIII 51 XV 3, 7, 12 XVII 7 XXII 16

kaničak hānsax^uān - ciyōn-aš ō Arđavān guft - ... guft (Kn II 7) - the girl these words said, as he to Arđavān spoke. ā-š gāušudāg ēdōn baxšišn (ŠnŠ XI 4) - then his gōšōdō must be put thus.

Also: ŠnŠ XIV 2 XV 6, 8, 16, 23 XVI 2, 3, 4 XVII 6, 14

In the texts there are also sporadic cases of affixing the enclitic pronoun to the preposition beginning the sentence:
u pati-š niyāzān būt (Kn II 2) - and with him she fell in love.
Also: ŠnŠ XI 1 XX 14

The exceptions to the rule of enclitic pronoun in second place in the sentence should be treated as immaterial, as they occur in sentences of special construction which is discussed on pp. 32-33, 59 e. g:

zan I ābustan kē-š pāy abar nihād (ŠnŠ XII 13) - when a pregnant woman places her leg...

Besides, there may be cases of using the enclitic pronoun with the preposition "ō" (in the form "aviš", "hāč", abar, az, pad"): namāč aviš barēnd (Kn I 10) - they hail him. frazand aziš zāy-ēd (ŠnŠ XII 14) - a child shall be born of her.

Also: Kn 2, 13, 18, 20, 42, 43 III 15, 18, 20

ŠnŠ XII 3, 5, 7, 9-10, 13, 19, 22, 24, 30 XV 3, 12, 16, 23, 24 XVI 2, 4 XX 7, 9, 10

I found three sentences marked stylistically in which the enclitic pronoun was in the middle of the sentence:
ardwahišt I hučīhr dahād-it uš ud wīr (ŠnŠ XXII 3) - beautiful Ardwahišt may give you intelligence and memory. rōšn burz ādur pad wahišt-it gīrād gāh (ŠnŠ XXII 9) - bright, sublime Ādur in heaven will keep a place for you. rām I x^uābar x^uadāy... āfrin-it aspurr gīrād (ŠnŠ XXII 21) - Rām, the munificent prince, will wholly accept your reward.

The conjunction introducing the sentence does not always stand at the beginning. It may be preceded by a stylistically emphasized sentence member. This order is used only in ŠnŠ, a text with a more complicated sentence structure than Kn:
gōspand ka kušt (ŠnŠ XI 4) - when the sheep is killed. ān 5 yazišn ka kunēd (ŠnŠ XII 31) - when these 5 ceremonies have been performed. hangām kadār ka gōšt nē abāyēd x^uardan (ŠnŠ XVII 1) - in what time should meat not be eaten.
Also: ŠnŠ XII 3, 5, 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 29, 30 XIII 19 XV 3, 10, 16 XVI 2 XVII 3, 10

The construction advancing the subject to the beginning of the sentence and repeating its equivalent within the sentence is found only in ŠnŠ. The equivalent is a pronoun, either independent or more often, enclitic. There are also examples of reversed arrangement with the pronoun at the beginning of the sentence and the subject proper farther on:

zan ī ābustan kē-š pāy abar nihād (ŠnŠ XII 13) - if a pregnant woman places her foot... pōryōtkēšān - kē hurastagihātar kard - kē-šān pad šab x^uarišn x^uard (ŠnŠ XII 19) - the scholars, who acted very orthodoxly, while they at night partook of food... ka-š mard ī ahraw abar frāz rawēd (ŠnŠ XII 19) - when a righteous man goes forward over that...

Also: ŠnŠ XII 30 XIII 19 XV 23

In this group may be included sentences in which the object or adverbial is at the beginning of the sentence in the form of independent case, while the proper preposition appears with an enclitic pronoun (previously discussed on p. 53):

kē-š band ī pādyābīh ud apādyābīh awiš paywast ēstēd (ŠnŠ XII 22) - to which bonds of ritual cleanliness and uncleanness are attached.

In Kn there are a number of sentences similar to the following:

"Pāpak kē-š hān sax^uān ašnūt kas fristāt" (Kn I 14). Treating the word Pāpak as a subject in the forefront, it would be necessary to divide these 2 sentences thus: when Pāpak these words heard - he sent someone (Nyberg, p. 200 of the vocabulary, entry "sax^uān"). We should then also have to do with the non-initial position of the conjunction. It seems to me, however, that it is proper to treat the sentence kē-š hān sax^uān ašnūt as subordinate inserted into the main sentence Pāpak kas fristāt. I base my decision on the fact that firstly, in Kn the sentences have a very simple structure, and lack complicated syntactical constructions, and secondly, such a sentence analysis is brought to mind when making comparisons with an ŠnŠ text. In ŠnŠ, in

instances of forefrontal position of subject of the subordinate clause before the conjunction introducing it, in the main clause which follows there is always another logical subject, whereas in the given Kn sentences both subordinate and main clauses refer to the same subject. Hence my treating them as a main sentence with an inserted subordinate:

Pāpak kē-š tan bahr u čāpūkīh ī Artaxšēr bē dīt dānist... (Kn I 21) - Pāpak knew, when he saw the charm and sensibility of Artaxšēr... Arđavān kē-š Artaxšēr dīt šāt būt (Kn I 28) - Arđavān was satisfied, when he saw Artaxšēr. Pāpak kē-š nāmak dīt handohakēn būt (Kn I 41) - Pāpak was troubled when he saw the letter. Artaxšēr kē hān sax^uān ašnūt mēnišn ō virēxtan hač ōš nihāt (Kn II 8) - from this the thought of flight occurred to Artaxšēr, when these words he heard. Arđavān kē-š pat hān aōvēnak ašnūt apāč vašt (Kn III 21) - Arđavān turned back, when this he heard.

As opposed these construction a sentence from ŠnŠ may serve:

mard-ē ka-š yašt kard ēstēd uš zan nē kard ēstēd abēr frēzwānīg zyānag yašt (ŠnŠ XII 30) - when the man yašt has done and his wife has not done, (it is) very fitting to do yašt for his wife.

The above given types of sentence beginning, thus of subject group, adverbial, stressed member, enclitic pronoun, and predicate as the end of the sentence form frames which contain various construction of Middle Persian sentence members.

Part IV CONCLUSIONS

From material comprising about 1300 sentences I have endeavoured to extract some general laws governing word order in the Middle Persian sentence, noting anomalies, exceptions and irregularities.

I was particularly interested in acquiring more precise evidence on statements previously made on the subject, about which

there have hitherto been no exhaustive elaborations. If the results of this study fit into the general laws concerning the sentence word order of Indo-European languages it will prove the regularity of the development of Iranian languages, and that Middle Persian properly represents a definite language type.

Even only the chosen texts, which form the basis of these investigations, illustrate the question clearly and may be regarded as characteristic for the language.

Comparing conclusions arrived at from studies of the Middle Persian language with the state of Old Persian one comes to generalizations which may be significant for settling the question of sentence word order in the Iranian group.

On the basis of all these investigations and comparisons it may be stated that the Middle Persian sentence appears as a word chain with the following placement of members: (adverbial expression) - subject - object - predicate.

This order is, on the one hand, an inheritance from Old Iranian and on the other, an establishing - at the stage of Middle Iranian - of a new language type, one of the elements of which is a growing rigidity of word order.

While in the predicate relationship the constitutive comes after the accessory member, the attributive relationship has two variants, depending on the grammatical and lexical contents of both components: the determining member precedes or follows the determined.

All rules, pertaining to Middle Persian sentence structure are not, however rigid nor immutable - there remains in general, a large margin of freedom in sentence word order and construction patterns. This proves the truth of the statement that the Middle Persian language is a transitory stage in the history of the development of the Persian language. The New Persian, if we disregard many external influences of neighbouring cultures, shows greater stability, if only in sentence word order.

At the Middle Persian stage habits were in process of formation, e.g., placing the predicate at the end of the sentence, the determining member after the determined in the attributive group, the creation of special grammatical constructions performing syntactical functions previously fulfilled by synthetic inflected forms.

The examples cited in this study bear witness to all these tendencies.