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Iranian Minority Languages

Agnes Korn

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Contents

<i>Editorial Note</i>	5
<i>Studies</i>	
<i>Ashk P. Dahlén</i> , Kingship and Religion in a Mediaeval <i>Fürstenspiegel</i> : The Case of the <i>Chahār Maqāla</i> of Nizāmī ‘Arūzī	9
<i>Mohammad Ghazanfari</i> and <i>Abdullah Sarani</i> , The Manifestation of Ideology in a Literary Translation	25
<i>Urban Hammar</i> , The Kālacakra Initiation by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama in Amaravati, January 2006	40
<i>Mahmoud Hassanabadi</i> , The Situation of Women in Sasanian Iran: Reflections on the Story of Bahrām Gōr and his Mistress	60
<i>Michael Reinhard Heß</i> , Aufreizende Verbote: Uşaklıgils <i>Aşk-ı Memnu</i> als Schlüssel zur ‚orientalischen‘ Liebe	69
<i>Ablahad Lahdo</i> , Some Remarks on Language Use and Arabic Dialects in Eastern Turkey	105
<i>Iranian Minority Languages</i> , ed. by Agnes Korn	
<i>Agnes Korn</i> , Introduction	117
<i>Farideh Okati</i> , <i>Abbas Ali Ahangar</i> and <i>Carina Jahani</i> , Fronting of /u/ in Iranian Sistani	120
<i>Saloumeh Gholami</i> , Ergativity in Bactrian	132
<i>Thomas Jügel</i> , Ergative Remnants in Sorani Kurdish?	142
<i>Agnes Korn</i> , Western Iranian Pronominal Clitics	159
<i>Antje Wendtland</i> , The Position of the Pamir Languages within East Iranian	172
<i>Book Reviews</i>	189
<i>List of Contributors</i>	203

Iranian Minority Languages

Edited by Agnes Korn, Frankfurt a. M.

Introduction

Agnes Korn
Frankfurt a.M.

This collection of articles is based on a selection of papers presented at a panel entitled “Iranian minority languages”¹ which was held at the *30th German Congress of Orientalists* at Freiburg i.Br. University in September 2007.² For the present collection, the selected papers have been substantially enlarged and/or revised. Also included is an article whose authors could not attend the 2007 panel.

The title “Iranian minority languages” is here interpreted rather broadly to refer to Iranian minority languages and dialects spoken in Iran today, and to Iranian varieties which are, or were, spoken in other countries. (The term “Iranian varieties” will occasionally be used in this collection to include the notions of “language” and “dialect”.) In spite of the geographical distance between the languages encompassed by this term – reaching from Iraqi Kurdistan, Eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus via Iran and Afghanistan to the Pamir – most of them share a number of features. For instance, the absence of a standard language and/or orthography has important consequences for those who try to use the language for writing, teaching, etc. The investigation of the history of Iranian languages has shown that the influence of inter-regional or national languages is by no means limited to modern times. However, the speed and pervasiveness of such influence has markedly increased by their predominant or even exclusive use in schools and the media, and has reached more or less all speakers of Iranian languages today. Television is a crucial element in this process, as it disseminates the knowledge of national languages in their standard, rather than their local form, as e.g. in the case of Persian, where – by way of Iranian TV broadcasts – Tehrani Farsi has replaced Dari as an influential language in Afghanistan, and local varieties of Persian within Iran.

Some Iranian varieties (among them Pamir languages as well as various minority languages and dialects in Iran) qualify for the category of endangered languages in its narrow definition, as they are spoken by only a very small number of people today. However, many other Iranian languages and dialects such as Mazenderani, Balochi, or Sistani may be labelled “medium endangered”; while the number of their speakers is not yet particularly low at present, it seems questionable whether children will continue to use them – and if they do not, these languages could quite well be lost in one or two generations.

¹ See <http://webdoc.urz.uni-halle.de/dot2007/programm.php?ID=118>

² Some of the presentation manuscripts are published in the online proceedings volume (Rainer BRUNNER, Jens Peter LAUT, Maurus REINKOWSKI (eds.): *XXX. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Freiburg, 24.-28. September 2007. Ausgewählte Vorträge*) at <http://webdoc.urz.uni-halle.de/dot2007/publikation.php>

This makes it specifically important to collect data from minority languages and dialects, many of which are still imperfectly known, and to investigate them. The description of their grammatical structures is also important for both typological purposes, as Iranian varieties show many interesting features, and for the historical perspective, as the data of today may shed light on those points in the history of Iranian that are not reflected in the documents that have come down to us. Conversely, surviving texts from older stages and from extinct Iranian languages offer precious material for comparison, often helping to explain parallel patterns of contemporary languages.

For Iranologists the synchronic description of the languages and dialects is clearly the first task. The article by Farideh Okati, Abbas Ali Ahangar, and Carina Jahani about the variety of Sistani spoken in the Zabol region in Iran contributes to this: it investigates the pronunciation of the vowel which has been described as back and rounded (corresponding to classical New Persian /ū/). The authors show that this vowel is [ʊ] (with an allophone [ɤ] in certain environments) in Iranian Sistani.

Saloumeh Gholami's article is a syntactic description: it studies case marking and agreement associated with the past stem of the verb in the Middle Iranian language Bactrian. The earlier texts show a case distinction of the nouns that is lost in the later ones (while usually preserving verbal agreement with the object), which has important consequences for the original ergative construction and the interpretation of the resulting patterns.

The same loss of case distinctions has also taken place in contemporary Sorani Kurdish. As Thomas Jügel demonstrates, the use of pronominal clitics has changed to regular marking of the agent in the past domain, independent of the presence of an overt agent. In combination with changes in the functions of the personal endings, this renders the pattern a nominative-accusative construction.

Bactrian and Sorani Kurdish thus illustrate the typologically remarkable variation of the broad range of peri-, semi-, and ex-ergative constructions within Iranian.

The pronominal clitics indexing ergative agents, objects, etc. in many Iranian languages have also generally been used to divide Western Iranian languages into two groups depending on whether their 3rd singular clitic goes back to **-hai* or **-šai* (originally variants of the same clitic). Agnes Korn's article attempts to argue against this isogloss, also challenging the uniform derivation from the Old Iranian genitive/dative clitics. While some remarkable archaisms appear to be preserved in the Western Iranian pronominals, it seems questionable how much the various forms imply for a sub-grouping of Western Iranian.

The Pamir languages are another group of Iranian varieties which are more adequately described in areal rather than in genetic terms. Antje Wendtland surveys the isoglosses suggested for the subgrouping of these varieties, and those connecting some or several of them with other Eastern Iranian languages, and concludes that no isoglosses establish the Pamir languages as a genetic group, and that the division of Eastern Iranian into a Northern and a Southern branch does not appear to be well-founded either.

I am grateful to the Freiburg organizers of the *30th German Congress of Orientalists* for their organizational assistance in convening this panel, to Prof. em.

Gunilla Gren-Eklund for welcoming this collection to an issue of *Orientalia Suecana*, and to Dr Christian Rammer for the Sistan maps. To the referees I am indebted for their critical reading of the papers and for offering valuable suggestions in their anonymous reviews. The greatest share of thanks is of course due to the authors for submitting their articles and for carefully working their way through many editorial comments. It is my hope that the present collection will contribute to our better knowledge of Iranian minority languages and stimulate further research in this field.

May 2009

Fronting of /u/ in Iranian Sistani

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Zahedan
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Abstract

The subject of this study is fronting of the back rounded vowel /u/ in the Iranian Sistani dialect. A close rounded vowel with central-to-front pronunciation is described by Grjunberg (1963) for the Sistani spoken in Turkmenistan. Field studies show that there is also a central vowel [ɯ] in the Iranian dialect of Sistani. This article describes the pronunciation [ɯ] as a general fronting of $u > \#$, which is the main realization of this phoneme in Iranian Sistani, and a further fronting of $\#$ to [ʏ] as an allophonic variant in contact with coronal consonants. Among educated speakers living in urban areas however, there is occasionally a pronunciation close to [u] under the influence of Persian. Vowel harmony is another phenomenon that can be observed in the dialect under investigation. It will briefly be described insofar as it is relevant for the vowels under discussion.¹

1. Introduction

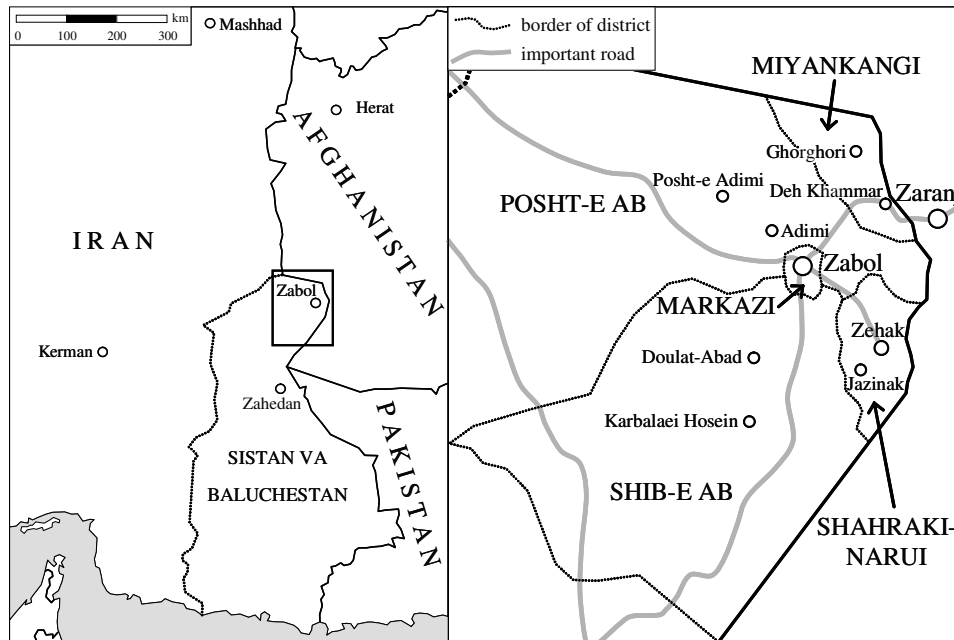
Sistani is spoken in the Sistan region of Afghanistan, in the south of Turkmenistan, and in the southeast of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Nowadays there are also many Sistani speakers living in the Golestan province of Iran. The Iranian Sistani dialect is spoken by 90% of a total of about 350,000 inhabitants in the Sistan region of the province of Sistan and Baluchestan.²

Although Iranian Sistani is spoken with very slight dialect variations in the different parts of Iranian Sistan (so minor that they can be ignored in this study), the data for this investigation were gathered from all five districts in order to obtain more certain and accurate results.

This paper is concerned with the analysis of fronting of u in Iranian Sistani. Field studies suggest the absence of a back vowel [u] in the vowel series of this dialect, and the presence of the central vowel [ɯ] instead. Furthermore, it seems that $\#$ has moved towards a front vowel [ʏ] in certain environments, namely in contact with dental, alveolar, and post-alveolar consonants [+coronal]. The fronting in Iranian Sistani thus involves both a general fronting of u to $\#$, which is the main realization of this phoneme, and also a further fronting to [ʏ] in certain environments (allophonic variation). However, the argument in the article is on a phonetic rather than on a phonological level, and there will be no attempt at describing the full vowel inventory of Sistani in this article.

¹ We would like to thank the phoneticians Dr. Pétur Helgason, Uppsala University, and Gunilla Andersson, SIL International, for their cooperation during and after the Phonetic Workshop in Uppsala, 13-16 August 2007, and to them, as well as to Dr. Anja Geumann, Frankfurt a.M. University, for their comments on drafts of this article. We are also very grateful to our Sistani informants.

² <http://www.sci.org.ir>



Map 1: Iranian Sistan and Places of Interview

One might ask if there is a fronting process involved or if this vowel was a central /ʊ/ originally. However, since Sistani is regarded as a dialect of Persian (WINDFUHR 1989: 248, BEARMAN et al. 2003: 427), which (synchronically as well as historically) has /u/, but no */ʊ/ in its vowel system, it is reasonable to assume that /ʊ/ cannot be original to Sistani. Furthermore, a vowel /u/ has been claimed for Sistani itself (thus GRJUNBERG 1963 on the vowel system of the Sistani dialect spoken in Sarakhs of Turkmenistan, see Section 2). Another argument for *u*-fronting is that this phenomenon is also encountered in some other Iranian languages and dialects (see Section 3).

The data corpus for this investigation was gathered during the summer of 2007 by elicitation and by interviewing 16 speakers (10 males and 6 females) aged between 40 and 102, from the five districts Markazi (in the centre; data from Zabol), Posht-e Ab (in the northwest; data from Adimi and Posht-e Adimi), Shib-e Ab (in the southwest; Karbalaei Hosein, Tutti, Doulat-Abad), Miyankangi (in the northeast; villages of Sadaki, Ghorghori, Takht-e Edalat, Deh Khammar), and Shahraki-Narui (in the southeast; Vaselo, Jazinak) (see Map 1).

During the interview, the informants were asked in guided conversation to produce the relevant sounds. Free conversation and telling life stories were other ways of assembling data. The data were recorded on an MP3 player or directly into the computer.

2. Previous Studies

Several studies of Sistani have been made in different areas of Sistan, e.g. by LAZARD (1974) and WERYHO (1962). AHANGAR (2003) describes the Sakva dialect of Shib-e Ab, DUSTI (2001) the dialect of Posht-e Ab, BARJASTEH DELFOROOZ (1996) the one of the Markazi region, OMRANI (1996, 1999) the variety of the town of Zabol. In none of these works is the fronting of /u/ to a central $\#$ mentioned. Glossaries are another kind of works that indicate pronunciation, but the matter of fronting of /u/ is not evident in the transliteration of the Sistani words in the available glossaries (e.g. PARVAZ 1980, MOHAMMADI KHOMAK 2000, and BAHARI 2004).

In his description of the Sistani spoken in Sarakhs of Turkmenistan, GRJUNBERG (1963) recognizes three *u*-vowels, which he notes as /u/, /ũ/ and /ü/; i.e. he believes that there is also a high rounded vowel that is not articulated at the back of the oral cavity. He describes /u/ as a close back slightly rounded vowel, historically corresponding to both /ū/ and /ō/, e.g. /suz/ “burning”; /ũ/ as a close-mid back slightly rounded vowel, which corresponds to the historical /ū/ (i.e. to the literary modern Persian *o*), e.g. (examples in Grjunberg’s notation) /büz/ “goat” and /gül/ “flower”; and /ü/ as a close rounded vowel which has a range of pronunciation between the central and front rows, where the central variant is found after labial plosives and in unstressed positions, e.g. /pül/ “money”, /büd/ “was”, /kü’ča/ “lane”, and a more open variant [Y] realized in other positions, e.g. /tüt/ [tyt] “berry” (GRJUNBERG 1963: 77–78).³

3. Theoretical Aspects of Fronting

Fronting is one of the natural phonological processes that take place in many languages. It can be either a general process, or it can be conditioned both by other vowels and by consonants. One common conditioning factor is the occurrence of front vowels in neighbouring syllables (BURQUEST 2001: 122–124), a kind of vowel harmony. Such vowel assimilation may be either regressive or progressive. “The regressive form can be illustrated by the Germanic *i*-umlaut, which shows a process of fronting. In this process back vowels in general become fronted before a following /i/ or /j/, normally with one or more consonants intervening” (LASS 1988: 171).

Fronting of back vowels has been observed in many languages. For instance, “coronals can condition fronting of vowels. Cantonese, as an example, has a maximal system of vowels contrasting front and back rounded vowels, but back rounded vowels cannot appear between coronal consonants: /tyt/ ‘to take off’ */tut/, /tøn/ ‘a shield’ */ton/. This distributional restriction can be understood as resulting from fronting of vowels between coronals” (FLEMMING 2003: 335). In Slavic languages, fronting of back vowels in contact with palatal consonants has been observed (RUBACH 2005).

In other languages, fronting of a certain vowel occurs as a general process which affects a sound in all its environments without any obvious conditioning factors.

³ Sincere thanks to Dr. Serge Axenov for translating Grjunberg’s description of these vowels into English for us.

Language contact can, of course, contribute to explaining such a general fronting process.

HARRINGTON et al. (2007) investigate /u/-fronting in Southern British English Received Pronunciation (RP). Their studies showed that /u/ has become fronted in the last 50 years in Southern British English RP.

Fronting has been observed for various other Iranian languages as well, such as Mazandarani, Semnani and Sorkhei (LECOQ 1989: 250). For instance, in the Delvari dialect spoken in Delvar, in the Bushehr province of the southwest of Iran, there is evidence of fronting of /u/ to /i/. In KORD ZAFARANLU KAMBUZIA / MAMASANI'S opinion (2006: 88), the change of /u/ to /i/ happens because of the common features which these two vowels share, e.g., [+high], [+tense]. Some examples of this alternation are /puk/ → /pik/ "hollow", /su'zan/ → /si'zan/ "needle", /dur/ → /dir/ "far", /pah'lu/ → /pah'li/ "beside".

This kind of change also exists in other languages and dialects spoken in the south and east of Iran, e.g. in Dashtestani and Liravi, which are neighbouring dialects of Delvari and are very similar to it (AKBARZADE 2002: 27 cited by KORD ZAFARANLU KAMBUZIA / MAMASANI 2006: 88), in Lari,⁴ and in Southern Balochi (ELFENBEIN 1990: X).

ABBASI (2007: 65, 68, 85) investigated vowel change in the dialects spoken in the regions of Birjand, such as Nehbandani, which is located in southern Khorasan, to the north of Sistan. He showed that in Nehbandani /u/ has moved forward towards /i/ and in some places to /e/, e.g. /'nabud/ → /'nabid/ "was not", /'budam/ → /'bidam, 'bedam/ "I was", /pul/ → /pil/ "money", /ga'lu/ → /ga'li/ "throat". He also points out that the V+C combination /ow/ has moved forward and changed to /ej/, e.g. /dow'lat/ → /dej'lat/ "government".

4. Data analysis

4.1 Spectrograms and formants

Spectrograms are "a way of making visible the patterns of energy in the acoustic signal" (*Handbook* 1999: 5). In the spectrum of the sound waves, some parts of the columns are darker than others. The darker areas or bands occur at the frequencies of high energy and are called formants (LAVER 1994: 103, ESTAJI 2006: 151). The shape or colour of a sound is determined by the placement of its formants.

The spectrograms in Fig. 1 show the formants of cardinal vowels (male speaker), indicated by arrows for [i] and [u]. For a male speaker, the lowest possible position for the first formant, F1, is about 150–200 Hz and the highest is about 900–1000 Hz. The lowest possible F2 is about 550–600 Hz and the highest possible F2 is about 2300–2500 Hz. For instance, in a front high vowel such as [i], F1 is low (below 500 Hz) and F2 is high (2500 Hz). In the back high vowel [u], F1 is low and F2 is also low so that F1 and F2 tend to merge into one "fat" formant around 500 Hz. In back rounded vowels, any formants above 1000 Hz (below 5000 Hz) tend to be very weak.

⁴ Field observations by Carina Jahani, March 2009. See also KAMIOKA / YAMADA (1979: xii).

Cardinal vowels 1 through 8

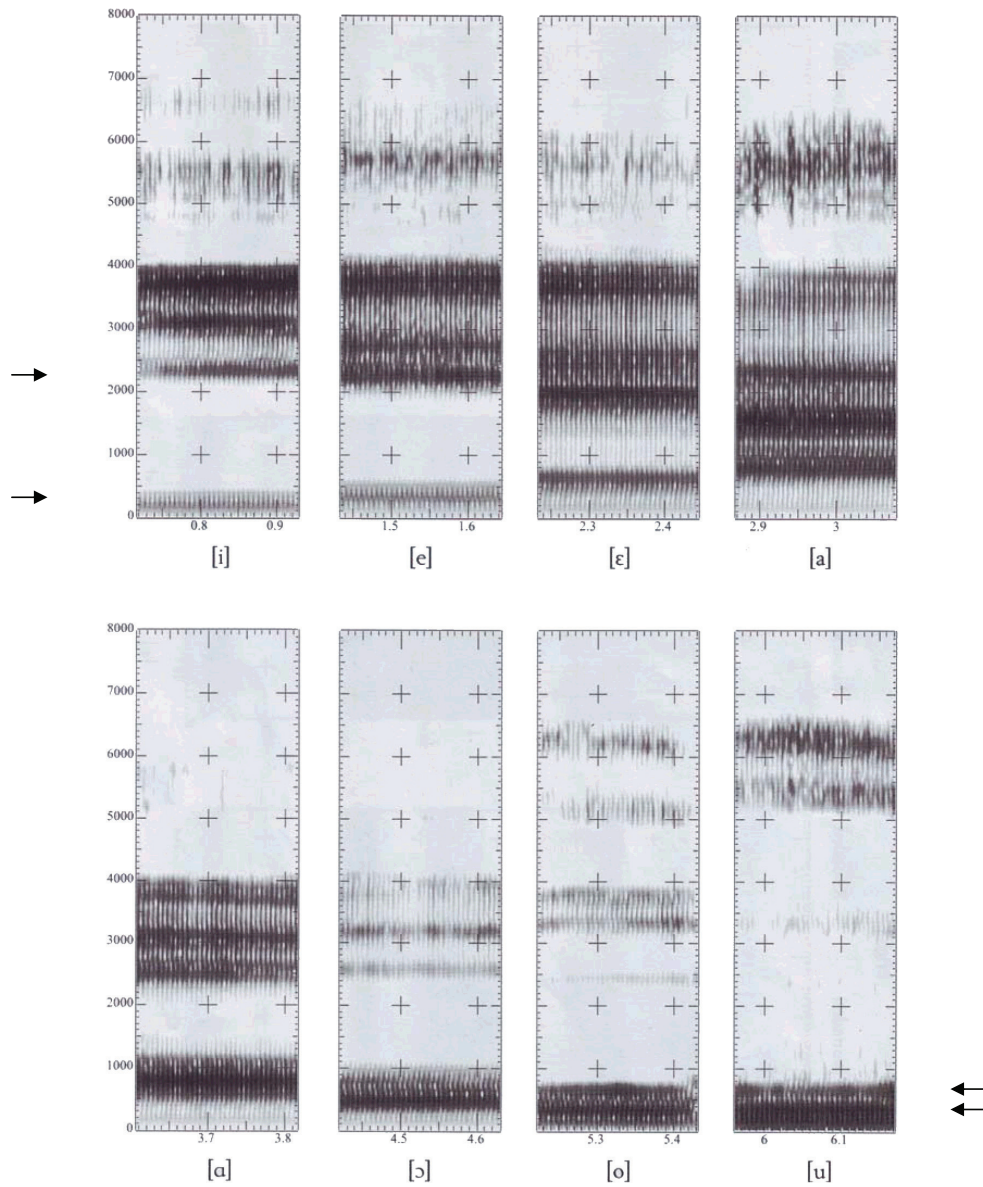


Fig. 1: Spectrograms of cardinal vowels⁵

⁵ Reproduced from a handout for a Phonetics Workshop in Uppsala, 13-16 August, 2007. Sincere thanks to Pétur Helgason for allowing us to publish these spectrograms.

Fig. 2–4 show the spectrograms of [ʈ] and [ɣ] for comparison.⁶

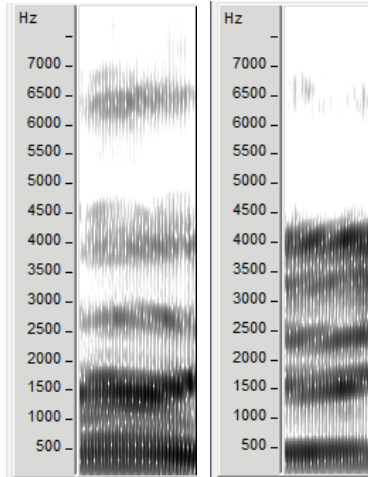


Fig. 2: [ʈ] [ɣ]
(scale of 7000)

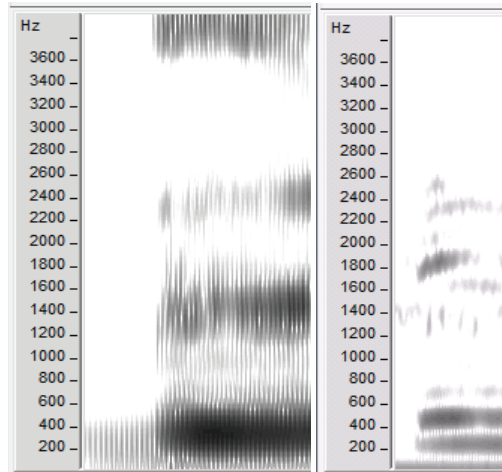
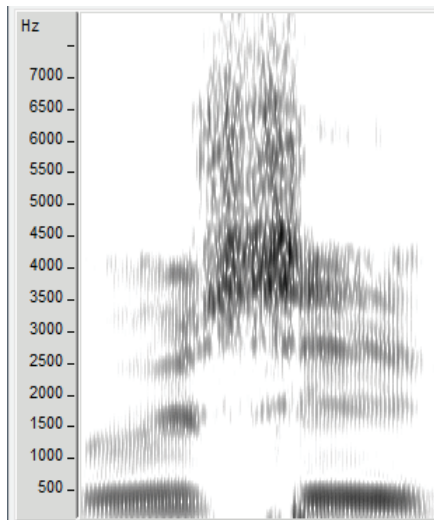


Fig. 3: [ʈ] [ɣ]
(scale of 3600)



[ʈ] [ɣ]
Fig. 4: ʈsʈ [ʈ:sɣ] “that direction”

⁶ Fig. 2a and 3b are from female speakers, the others from males. There seems to be no gender related difference in the pronunciation of [ʈ] and [ɣ] in Iranian Sistani. Both scalings of 3600 and 7000 are represented to allow comparison with the sample words in Section 4.3.

4.2 Analysis

First of all, an auditory analysis of the data was carried out. To complement this analysis, an acoustic analysis by means of the software WaveSurfer⁷ was also used, in order to obtain more accurate judgements. This program shows the spectrogram of audio input that is fed into it. By means of these spectrograms the sounds in question can be identified. We have thus carried out both auditory and acoustic analyses of the data.

For the analysis of the sound under investigation, the same words spoken by both male and female informants were analysed, and their spectrograms were tested to see whether the pronunciation of this sound is [ɤ] or [ʏ], or rather [u] or [ɯ]. Some of these spectrograms will be shown in Section 4.3.

As mentioned in Section 4.1, the first and the second formants merge at about 500 Hz in the back rounded vowel /u/. So if /u/ has moved towards the centre in Sistani, i.e. away from the back rounded articulation, the formants should not be in this position. The spectrograms of the analysed words (demonstrated in Section 4.3) show that F1 and F2 are not merged as a fat formant around 500 Hz, but that F2 is higher than 500 Hz. (F2 is even higher when [ɤ] moves further to [ʏ].) The height of the formants in the back vowel [u] obviously implies an absence of energy above 1000 Hz, but since these spectrograms indicate a formant in this area, they indicate the presence of a central vowel [ɤ] rather than a back vowel [u]. This supports the hypothesis that a process of *u*-fronting has happened in Iranian Sistani (OKATI 2008: 70, 133). In fact, the auditory analysis also confirms that the vowel under study is a central vowel *#* in this dialect.

Depending on the phonological environment, *#* undergoes further changes:

- It moves further towards the front and becomes [ʏ] when it is adjacent to, and especially preceded by, coronals, e.g. [ʃʏl] ‘basket’, [tʰʏjk] (a certain bird), [tʰʏ] ‘inside’, [dʏzʔzi] ‘theft’, [lʏlʔlak] ‘insect’, [rʏnmɑːi] ‘gift’. This can be described as an allophonic variation [ʏ] ~ [ɤ].
- As a result of vowel harmony, the pronunciation of *#* in certain environments is sometimes different from what has just been stated, e.g. [bɤˈrʏ] ~ [bɤˈrɤ] ‘out’, [kʰɤˈtʔrʏ] ~ [kʰɤˈtʔrɤ] ‘puppy’. In both examples, although [ʏ] occurs after a coronal, it moves back towards the centre to the same place of articulation as the first vowel in the word. The assimilation is sometimes progressive and sometimes regressive. This process may also cause variants of one and the same word. For instance, in words like /arɤˈsi/ ~ /ariˈsi/ ‘wedding’, /iːsɤ/ ~ /iːsi/ ‘this direction’, /biˈrɤ/ ~ /bɤˈrɤ/ ‘out’, /sɤˈzi/ ~ /sɤˈzɤ/ ‘needle’, there is a tendency to harmonize the two vowels, but the non-harmonic variant is also heard.⁸
- *#* may be pronounced somewhat towards the back of the mouth (but not as far back as to the positions of [ɯ] or [u]) when it is preceded by velars, especially in an open syllable, in the speech of some younger informants who are educated or live in more

⁷ WaveSurfer is an Open Source program, see <http://www.speech.kth.se/wavesurfer/>.

⁸ Vowel harmony also occurs for vowels other than *#* in Sistani. However, our discussion is limited to describing it where it occurs in connection with the issue of fronting.

urbanized areas. This suggests that the phenomenon should be analysed as a slight backing of $\#$ (towards its original position, if one assumes an underlying phoneme /u/), rather than as an absence of the fronting process.

In all other environments (i.e., except when an additional fronting to [ɣ] occurs, and except for a more general backing by some educated speakers), the pronunciation is [ɰ], e.g., [p^hɰ] “money”, [bɰ'da] “has been”, [mɰf] “mouse”.

Syllable patterns and stress apparently do not play any role for the two phonetic realizations, for both [ɰ] and [ɣ] can occur in different syllabic patterns with or without stress. Table 1 shows $\#$ in different environments and syllable patterns.

Table 1. Sistani $\#$ in various environments and syllable patterns.

example		syllable pattern	conditioning feature
[t ^h ɣ]	“inside”	CV	[+coronal]
[xɰ]	“blood”	CV	[-coronal]
[ʃɣ]	“basket”	CVC	[+coronal]
[dɣzz]	“thief”	CVC	[+coronal]
[xɰk]	“pig”	CVC	[-coronal]
[gɰ]	“fire”	CVC	[-coronal]
[p ^h ɰ]	“to fly”	CVC	[-coronal]
[ɣɰp]	“sound of falling”	CVC	[-coronal]
[p ^h a:ɣ]	“beside”	CV.CV	[+coronal]
[sɣ'zɣ]	“needle”	CV.CV	[+coronal]
[bɰ'ɣ]~[bɰ'rɰ]	“out”	CV.CV	[+coronal]~harmony
[a:dʒ'ɣɰ]	“bishop’s weed”	VC.CV	[-coronal]
[ɰn'dɣ]	“Hindu”	VC.CV	[+coronal], initial position
[ɰ'ɣɰɣ]	“salary”	V.CVC	[-coronal], initial position
[tʰɣ'k]	(a kind of bird)	CVCC	[+coronal]
[ɰ'p ^h ɰ]	“whistle”	VC.CVC	[-coronal], initial position
[la:m'p ^h ɰ]	“a ring pierced into the nose of animals”	CVC.CV	[-coronal]
[k ^h ɰ'rɣ]~[k ^h ɰ'rɰ]	“poppy”	CVC.CV	[+coronal]~harmony
[ɣɣ'lak]	“insect”	CVC.CVC	[+coronal]
[rɣnma:i]	“gift”	CVC.CV.V	[+coronal]

4.3 Sample spectrograms

In this section, examples of different words (from male and female informants, and from all five regions of Iranian Sistan) containing [ɰ] and [ɣ] are represented in the form of spectrograms (Fig. 5–15).⁹ All these words show fronting of /u/ (> $\#$), and also the further fronting discussed in Section 4.2.

The duration of the long vowels in comparison with the short ones can be seen in the “time axis”. The formants of short and long forms of a vowel are the same, i.e. the only difference between them is their duration.

⁹ Owing to the different methods of recording employed, some of these are in the scaling of 3600 Hz while others use 7000 Hz. For comparison of the formants, see Fig. 2–3.

Fig. 5–15: Spectrograms of $\#$ and its allophone [y] in some sample words

Fig. 5–12, female speakers

(The part of the lexical item which is not included in the spectrogram is placed in brackets.)

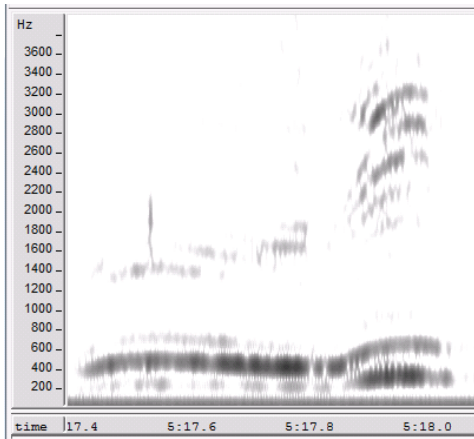


Fig. 5: *bæ:'rʌ* [bæ:'rʌ] “out”

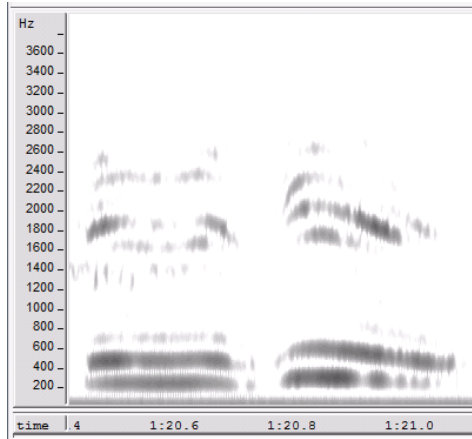


Fig. 6: *sɪ:'zɪ* [sɪ:'zɪ] “needle”

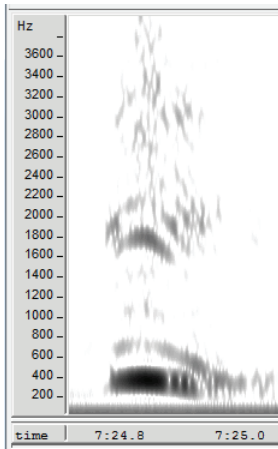


Fig. 7: *dɪz* [dɪz] “thief”

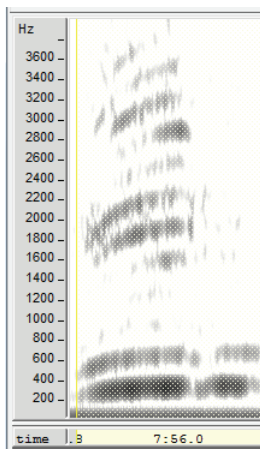


Fig. 8: *zɪl* [zɪl] “wood”

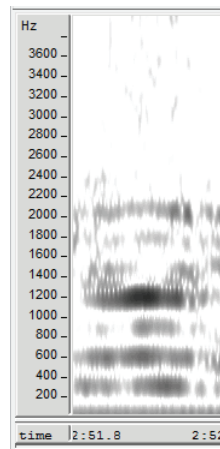


Fig. 9: *dɪ:ɹ* [dɪ:ɹ] “far”

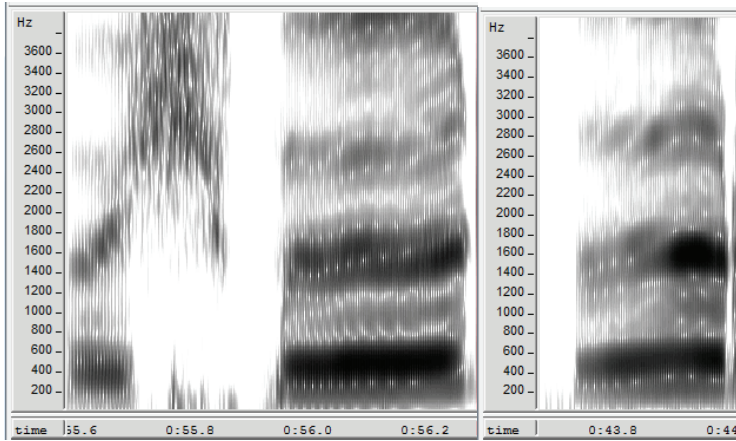


Fig. 10: #/p#l “whistle”

Fig. 11: #r “fairy”

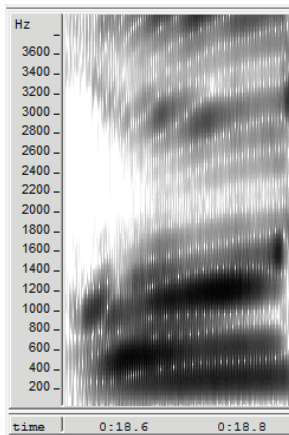
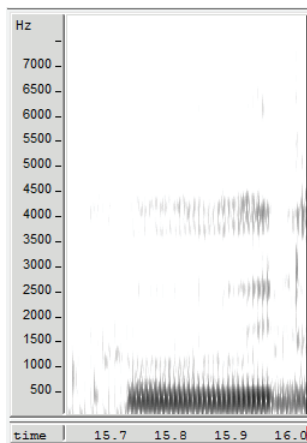
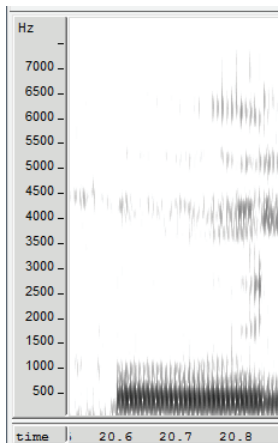
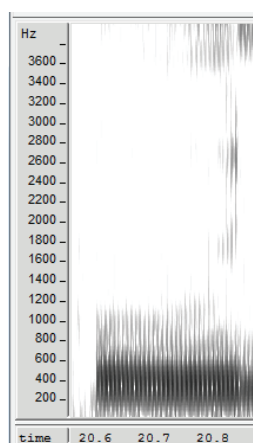


Fig. 12: #u:(t) “food”

Spectrograms of slightly backed

Fig. 13–15, male speakers

The following spectrograms show the pronunciation of # towards the back of the oral cavity that occurs in the speech of some educated people. There is a fat formant almost around 500 Hz and weak formants above 1000 Hz. These features are close to the characteristics of a back [u].

Fig. 13: *kʰ:(la)* “small house”Fig. 14: *xʰ:(ni)* “bloody”Fig. 15: *xʰ:(ni)* “bloody”

5. Conclusion

The auditory pretest and the technical analysis resulted in support for the hypothesis that the position of the vowel under investigation is central in the Iranian Sistani dialect, namely [ʊ]. Comparison with other Iranian languages, and the fact that fronting seems to be a common phenomenon in the area where Sistani is spoken, makes us conclude that we are dealing with fronting of /u/. Due to the lack of sources for the pronunciation of Sistani older than about 50 years, it is, however, impossible to determine when and under what circumstances this fronting took place, and if it is to be seen as a language-internal or a contact-induced phenomenon.

The analysis further shows that different environments can cause further fronting of the central *ʰ*. Coronal consonants, e.g. dentals, alveolars, and post-alveolars, make it move more towards the front of the oral cavity ([ʏ]). The fronted variant [ʏ] is analysed as an allophone of *ʰ*.

A vowel rather near to the close back cardinal vowel [u] is sometimes heard in the pronunciation of younger educated language informants living in towns, a phenomenon that can hardly be attributed to anything but influence from Standard Persian.

Vowel harmony is another phenomenon observed in Sistani. A deeper investigation of vowel harmony would be an interesting subject for a future study.

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Ergativity in Bactrian

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Abstract

The Middle Iranian language Bactrian is described as having an ergative construction for past transitive verbs, while the present system patterns nominatively. The aim of this article is to show the specific forms of ergativity in Bactrian. The focus will be on the different forms of subject and object marking, including the function of the preposition $\alpha\beta\omicron$ “to” to mark the object. I will argue that apart from canonical ergative constructions, Bactrian shows neutral and tripartite patterns. These can be seen as signs of a transition of the ergative into the nominative construction.¹

1. Introduction

Bactrian belongs to the Eastern Middle Iranian language group and was originally spoken in northern Afghanistan. It is the only Iranian language that is known to be written with the Greek alphabet. “As the language of the Kushan kings, Bactrian must have been widely known throughout a great empire, in Afghanistan, Northern India and parts of Central Asia.”² This language is attested in sources such as coins, seals, and a few inscriptions of the Kushan period “(first to third centuries AD)”³ and also by many economic and legal documents such as lists, accounts, and letters perhaps from the fourth to the eighth or ninth century AD.

A number of Iranian languages, such as Middle Persian, Pashto, Kurdish, and Hawrami, are described as having an ergative construction. According to Dixon, ergativity is a grammatical pattern in which “the subject of an intransitive clause is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause, and differently from transitive subject.”⁴ It should be noted that Iranian languages generally exhibit what is known as “split ergativity”,⁵ since the ergative construction is found only in clauses based on the past stem of the verb. It derives from constructions based on the Old Iranian perfect participle in *-ta*, which are called the “*manā kartam* construction”. This construction is interpreted by some scholars as passive⁶ while others prefer to see it as possessive⁷ or call it free genitive.⁸ The question of whether the ergative is to be interpreted as passive or possessive will not be discussed here.

Instead, the characteristics of the ergative construction and its typical features in

¹ I would like to thank Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams for valuable corrections and comments.

² SIMS-WILLIAMS 1997.

³ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989: 344.

⁴ DIXON 1994: 1.

⁵ See DIXON 1994: 14.

⁶ See SKJÆRVØ 1985: 211–227 and CARDONA 1970: 1–12.

⁷ See BENVENISTE 1966: 176–186 and ANDERSON 1977: 317–363.

⁸ See HAIG 2008: 27–29.

the Bactrian language will be presented, and the patterns of case marking will be analysed. The text corpus used for this investigation comprises the texts edited by SIMS-WILLIAMS as *BD I* (legal and economic documents) and *BD II* (letters), the Rabatak inscription edited by SIMS-WILLIAMS and CRIBB (1996),⁹ and the Kanishka inscription of Surkh Kotal (see LAZARD, GRENET and DE LAMBERTERIE 1984).¹⁰

2. Morphological notes¹¹

2.1 Case marking¹²

The older Bactrian texts show a nominal system of two cases and two numbers. However, the distinction between direct (DIR) and oblique (OBL) case in the singular can only be seen in a few instances in the inscriptions. In the economic documents, legal documents, letters, and Buddhist texts, singular nouns are found in what used to be the direct case (-o) while plural nouns are found almost exclusively in the oblique. So the plural oblique case is generalized, and the morpheme -avo indicates the plural, leaving a system where nouns are essentially unmarked for case (uninflected, UFL).

In the texts used for this investigation, examples of case distinction are extremely rare, and we can conclude that at this stage, no real case distinction is found in nouns anymore.

2.2 Pronouns

Personal pronouns only distinguish a direct and oblique form in the singular. For the 3rd person, demonstrative pronouns are used. Table 1 shows the most common forms of pronouns in the researched documents.

	direct	oblique	enclitic
1s	αζο	μανο	=μο =μαγο with preposition
2s	το (τοι, τοο, τογο, τοουο)	ταο (ταοι, ταοο)	=δηο =φαγο with preposition
3s	ειμο, ειδο		=ηο
1p	αμαχο	αμαχο, ιαμαχο	=μηνο
2p		τωμαχο, τομαχο, ταμαχο	=δηνο
3p	ειμι	ειμοανο, ειμουανο εδουανο	=ηνο, =τηνο

As in other languages the enclitic pronouns function exclusively as oblique. They usually function as:

⁹ See also SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998.

¹⁰ See also SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985: 111ff. and 1996: 635–638, 650.

¹¹ For a morphological sketch of Bactrian, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 40–49.

¹² See also SIMS-WILLIAMS / CRIBB 1996: 89.

(i) subject of transitive verbs in the past

- 1) οτο=μηνο αγγιτ-ινδο ι οαυαγο οισπο ασποριγο
 and=we.CP receive.PST-3p ART price all complete
 “And we received the price all complete.” (L 21–22)¹³

(ii) object of transitive verbs in the present:

- 2) κιδ-ανο αβα=φαγο ζηρο ... αφκαρ-αδο
 who-PAR to=you.s.CP PN pursue.PRS-SBJV.3s
 “who might pursue you, Zer” (F 12–13)¹⁴

(iii) pronominal possessive on noun

- 3) χοβο=μο περιφο
 own=I.CP inheritance
 “my own inheritance” (C 7)¹⁵

(iv) recipient / indirect object

- 4) φαρα=φαγο πιδοσημο
 for=you.s.CP declare.PRS-1s
 “I declare [it] to you.” (C 5–6)¹⁶

(v) governed by a preposition

- 5) ασα=φαγο
 from=you.s.CP
 “from you” (A 10)¹⁷

The demonstratives are used both in singular and plural forms in the extant material, but they show a case distinction only in the plural in the inscriptions. In the texts in *BD I* and *II* we only have one form; the oblique plural form is generalized. There are also other demonstrative pronouns in Bactrian such as ειο, οο, and μο. The plural forms of these demonstratives are not used in the extant material.¹⁸

3. Ergativity in Bactrian

I now turn to the past transitive or ergative constructions. Bactrian shows split ergativity with agreement of the verb with the object in person and number. Bactrian ergative constructions show the subject in the oblique and the object in the direct case. “In principle transitive forms derived from the past stem agree with the direct object.”¹⁹ But in *BD I* and *II*, nouns do not show a case distinction (see Section 2.1).

In the legal and economic documents and the inscriptions, the animate object is

¹³ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 66.

¹⁴ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 46.

¹⁵ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 39.

¹⁶ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 39.

¹⁷ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 33.

¹⁸ For the demonstratives in Bactrian see GHOLAMI (forthc.).

¹⁹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 46.

usually in the third person, whereas in the letters there are also examples in which the object is in the first or second person.

The preposition $\alpha\beta\omicron$ is also used as marker of a direct object which is animate and human with verbs in the past or the present domain.²⁰ It can also be used with an indirect object (ex. 13). Here is an example from the economic and legal documents:

- 6) $\kappa\omicron\omicron\alpha\delta\omicron$ $\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\omicron$ $\alpha\beta\omicron$ $\rho\alpha\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron$ $\chi\omicron\alpha\delta\omicron$ $\zeta\eta\phi\tau\omicron$
 that we.UFL to PN own request.PST.3s
 “that we ourselves have requested Ralik” (A 23–24)²¹

Classification of the past transitive constructions²²

According to the material available at present, two main types of ergative constructions can be distinguished. The first type can be further divided into seven subtypes. The main difference is the marking of the object and the word classes involved. The first group has no marker for the object, whereas in the second group the direct object is marked by the preposition $\alpha\beta\omicron$.

Type I: Direct object DIR or UFL, or indicated by verbal ending

Examples 7–8 and 12 show the general structure of the ergative construction, in which the subject stands in the oblique case, and the object is in the direct case or indicated by the verbal ending. The subject may be an enclitic (exx. 7–9), a full personal pronoun (exx. 10–11, 13), or a noun (exx. 12, 14–15). The object may be a noun (exx. 9–10, 13–14), a noun with demonstrative (exx. 11–12) or article (ex. 1), or a full personal pronoun (ex. 7).

Subject	Object
(a1) CP	PRON.DIR
7) $\omicron\tau\omicron=\mu\omicron$ $\tau\omicron$ $\zeta\eta\omicron\omicron$ $\alpha\zeta\alpha\delta\omicron$... $\upsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\eta\tau\omicron$ and=I.CP you.s.DIR PN free set.PST-2s “I released you, Zer.” (F 7–8) ²³	

(a2) CP Verbal ending indicates the object

In ex. 8 the verb is third person plural, while the subject is first person plural and the verb agrees with the object.

- 8) $\sigma\iota\delta\omicron=\mu\eta\gamma\omicron$ $\alpha\beta\omicron$ $\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron$ $\rho\omega\beta\omicron$ [] $\phi\alpha\omicron\omicron$ $\chi\omicron\eta\omicron$ $\omicron\alpha\sigma\tau\text{-}\iota\upsilon\delta\omicron$
 which=we.CP to great PN for lord take.PST-3p
 “which [= two sheep] we took to great Rob for the lord” (ef 7–8)²⁴

²⁰ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998: 86.

²¹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 34.

²² Some of these constructions are also mentioned by TREMBLAY 2003: 128 (using other terminology). According to information received from Xavier Tremblay, a paper presented by Nicholas Sims-Williams at the 7th Conference of the *Societas Iranologica Europaea* 2007 in Vienna discussed issues related to those mentioned in this paper, among these, dialectal variation of Bactrian sentence patterns.

²³ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 44.

²⁴ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 119.

(b) CP N.UFL²⁵

- 9) ταδο=μο ωσο ... οαναγο σποριγο αγγιτο
 so=I.CP now price complete receive.PST.3s
 “So now, I received the full price.” (F 6)²⁶

(c1) PRON.OBL+ N.UFL N.UFL

- 10) μσιδο πιδοροβδο μανο μοζ[δο ι χαρα]γανο ... ιαιοι
 now receive.PST.3s I.OBL PN [do i chara]gano ... grain
 “Now I, Muz[dkhara]gan, received ... grain.” (G 2–5)²⁷

(c2) PRON.OBL + N.UFL DEM + N.UFL

- 11) μσιδο ζιφο μανο βαγοφαρνο ... ειο ζινο
 now request.PST.3s I.OBL PN Bag-farno ... DEM woman
 “Now: I, Bag-Farn, requested this woman.” (A 10–11)²⁸

(d) N.OBL DEM + N.DIR

- 12) βαφαρε καταλαραγε κιρδο ειο βαγολαγγο
 PN.OBL lord of the marches.OBL make.PST.3s DEM sanctuary
 “Shafar the lord of the marches made this sanctuary” (inscription of Rabatak l. 15)²⁹

(e) PRON.UFL N.UFL

- 13) ταδο μαχο ωσο λαδο αβο=φαγο βηκο βονο οαρζιαδ
 so we.UFL now give.PST.3s to=you.s.CP PN land farming
 “So now we gave the farming of the state to you, Bek.” (U 6–7)³⁰

(f) N.UFL N.UFL³¹

- 14) δανομανο μαρδο ζιγο βηλαδδιο κιρδο
 such-and-such man damage unlawful do.PST.3s
 “Such-and-such persons did the damage [and] unlawful (acts).” (X 23)³²

(g) N.UFL Verbal ending indicates the object

In ex. 15 the “steward” is the subject, and the verb agrees with the object, which is first person singular.

- 15) ταδο φρομαλαρο πιδο Δηβαυρο αγιτ-ιμο
 so steward with anger hold.PST-1s
 “Then the steward arrested me.” (jh 6)³³

²⁵ See also example 1 and the third clause of 22.

²⁶ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 45.

²⁷ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 49.

²⁸ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 33.

²⁹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2008: 57.

³⁰ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 107.

³¹ This pattern is even found in texts that use an obl.sg. in some instances (TREMBLAY 2003: 128 note 23).

³² SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 141.

³³ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 137.

Type II: Direct object marked by αβο

In Bactrian the preposition αβο, originally meaning “to, in, according to, etc.”, is occasionally used to mark a definite direct object. It is also described as marking animate objects only. This can co-occur with agreement of the verb with the so-marked object (see ex. 17).³⁴

- | Subject | Object |
|---|---------------------------|
| (a) CP | αβο + N.UFL |
| 16) κοοαδο=μο αβο ζηρο ... χιρδο
that=I.CP to PN buy.PST.3s
“that I had [formerly] bought [you], Zer” (F 4–6) ³⁵ | |
| 17) ταδο=μο πιδο ταμαχο σαχοανο αβο ρωβιγο βαστ-ινδο
so=I.CP with you.p.OBL statement to of.Rob bind.PST-3p
“so because of your statement, I bound the men of Rob.” (cm 9–10) ³⁶ | |
| (b) PRON.UFL | αβο + N.UFL ³⁷ |
| 18) αγγιτιδο αμαχο μανο βαβο οδο πιδοκο αβο ραλικο ολο
receive.PST.3s we.UFL I.OBL PN and PN to PN wife
“We received – I, Bab, and [I,] Piduk – Ralik [as our] wife.” (A 15–16) ³⁸ | |
| (c) POSS + N.UFL | αβο + N.UFL |

In ex. 19 δαθβομαρηγο βραδο and βραυριγο are the objects, and the verb agrees with the last of them (or with them together if they were seen as a collective):

- 19) οτ-ανο ταιι χοβαν-ανο αβο δαθβομαρηγο βραδο
so-PAR your.s shepherd-PL to PN brother
οδ-αβο βραυριγο ζιδο
and-to nephew strike.PST.3s
“And your shepherds struck Dathsh-mareg’s brother and nephew.” (ba 6–7)³⁹

The αβο construction is comparable with the use of prepositions in some Pamir languages like, for instance, *az* in Shughni-Roshani and *ẓ* in Yazghulami. These prepositions originally had the meaning “from” and are used in similar constructions to mark the direct object.⁴⁰ These constructions are restricted to personal pronouns in these languages.

According to Payne one possible development in the decay of ergativity is the “grammaticalization of prepositions or postpositions as object-marker”.⁴¹

³⁴ See e.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998: 86.

³⁵ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 45.

³⁶ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 91.

³⁷ See also example 6.

³⁸ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 33.

³⁹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 53.

⁴⁰ WENDTLAND 2008: 418–419.

⁴¹ PAYNE 1998: 557.

Type III: Indirect object indicated by verbal ending

(a1) CP Verbal ending indicates the indirect object

- 20) ταδο=μο πιδο ι ναβιχτ-ημο
 so=I.CP with DEM write.PST-2s
 “So I have written to you regarding this.” (bh 8–9)⁴²

ναβιχτ- is a transitive preterite verb and therefore one would expect it to agree with the direct object. But instead it agrees with the indirect object, which is second person singular.

In ex. 21, the verb is first person singular and agrees with the indirect object “I”.

- 21) ταδο=μο ναγατο σαγωνδο ναβιχτ-ημο
 so=I.CP hear.PST.3s how write.PST-1s
 “So I have heard how (your lordship) has written to me.” (ci 4)⁴³

(a2) PRON.OBL Verbal ending indicates the indirect object

- 22) ασο=μαγο ιωβιγο βραδο πιδο χαγγαρο ζιδδ-ιμο
 through=I.CP PN brother with sword strike.PST-1s
 οδο τασο βραμαρζο αβισταοοαγο κιρδδ-ημο
 and you.s.OBL PN disloyal do.PST-1s
 ταδο παφτο ναναφτ-αμο χοαδο
 so agreement fix.PST-1p self

“I, Yobig, struck (your) brother with a sword, and you, Bramar, outlawed me. So we ourselves have made a pact.” (O 7–9)⁴⁴

According to Sims-Williams, the second clause in ex. 22 displays “the third possible construction of the transitive preterite, where the verb agrees neither with the subject nor with the direct object but with the indirect object”.⁴⁵

Yoshida mentions this example as another instance of the so-called “indirect affectee”:⁴⁶

- 23) ηβοδαλαγγο τωγγο ζαρο οδο ποσο αβαναγαδδ-ιμο
 Hephthalite tax gold and sheep charge.PST-1s
 “[And they] have charged me gold and sheep for the Hephthalite tax.” (Ii 7)⁴⁷

⁴² SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 67.

⁴³ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 85.

⁴⁴ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007b: 11. The points of dispute this text attempts to solve, and thence several sentences mentioning them, have been variously interpreted, see e.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 80, 2007b, forthc., and TREMBLAY 2003: 129–131.

⁴⁵ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2005: 24.

⁴⁶ YOSHIDA 2003: 157.

⁴⁷ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 53.

4. Conclusion

The discussion above has revealed a variety of case marking patterns in the surveyed Bactrian material. Table 2 presents the results of the case uses in different constructions such as ergative, neutral, and tripartite constructions.⁴⁸

Type	transitive subject	object	pattern
Ia	OBL: pronoun (CP)	DIR: pronoun	ergative
Ib	OBL: pronoun (CP)	UFL: noun	ergative
Ic	OBL: pronoun + noun	UFL: noun	ergative
Id	OBL: noun	DIR: noun	ergative
Ie	UFL: pronoun	UFL: noun	neutral
If	UFL: noun	UFL: noun	neutral
Ig	UFL	verbal ending	ergative
IIa	OBL: pronoun (CP)	with preposition	tripartite
IIb	UFL: pronoun	with preposition	nominative
IIc	UFL: noun	with preposition	nominative

There are four main constructions in Bactrian. The first group is ergative, in which the subject is in the oblique and object is in the direct case or uninflected (Ia, Ib, Ic, Id). The object may also be indicated by a verbal ending (Ig).

There are also some contexts in which the subject and the object of transitive verbs, and the subject of intransitive verbs, are marked identically. This pattern is called neutral (Ie, If). It arises as a consequence of the loss of case distinction (see Section 2.2).

The third group is “tripartite”, in which the transitive subject, object, and subject are in different cases: in IIa the transitive subject is in the oblique and the subject of an intransitive verb in the direct case, whereas the object is marked by the preposition $\alpha\beta o$. This function of $\alpha\beta o$ is rare in the extant inscriptions, but common in the letters. If the transitive subject is unmarked for case owing to the loss of case distinctions, the pattern is nominative as far as case marking is concerned, since the transitive and intransitive subjects are marked identically. However, the verb still agrees with the object, not with the transitive subject.

Otherwise it is not easy to be very precise about the development of the ergative construction in Bactrian. Because of a lack of more inscriptions, the number of inscripational ergative constructions is rather low.

From the above information we can conclude that Bactrian shows a mixture of the nominative and ergative construction. The existence of mixed constructions in the past domain can show the transition from the ergative to the nominative construction. The variety of patterns is parallel to that displayed by other Iranian languages.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ This terminology follows COMRIE 1978.

⁴⁹ Cf. KORN 2008: 269–272.

Abbreviations

ART	Article
BD I	SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000
BD II	SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a
CP	Enclitic Pronoun
DEM	Demonstrative pronom
DIR	Direct case
N	Noun
OBL	Oblique case
PAR	Particle
PL	Plural
PN	Personal or place name
POSS	Possessive
PRON	Pronoun
PRS	Present stem
PST	Past stem
SBJV	Subjunctive
SG	Singular
UFL	Uninflected
1s / 2s / 3s	1st / 2nd / 3rd person singular
1p / 2p / 3p	1st / 2nd / 3rd person plural

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Ergative Remnants in Sorani Kurdish?¹

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Abstract

BYNON (1980: 160) states: “Given the loss of ergative agreement marking in the verb, the clitic must, it would seem, now definitely be analyzed as a marker of agreement with the agent-subject despite its anomalous position in the sentence”, and concludes that “in spite of its various no longer functional traces of ergativity, Suleimaniye must be considered to have ceased to be ergative.”

However, ergativity is still claimed for Sorani Kurdish,² and recently HAIG rejected BYNON’s analysis and stated (2008: 302) “The O is only occasionally overtly cross-referenced [...]. However, when it is cross-referenced, then exclusively on the verb, and using the same set of suffixes that cross-reference an S.” Thus, Haig assumes “occasional” agreement (cross-reference, in his words) of the object and the transitive verb, and ergativity for Sorani Kurdish.

In this article I argue in favour of BYNON (1979, 1980) and show that there is no agreement of the object and the verb. The personal endings used in the past tense of transitive verbs take over the various functions of enclitic pronouns. On the other hand, enclitic pronouns used in the past tense of transitive verbs are, in fact, subject agreement markers, personal endings, so to speak.

After a short introduction to ergativity and relevant terminology (Section 1), I will give a brief survey of the historical development of the ergative construction in Iranian (Sections 2 and 3). A comparison of Middle Persian and Sorani Kurdish (Section 4) is made to understand the differences between the past tense constructions of these two languages which look so similar at first glance. In Section 5, I propose an explanation of the development in Sorani Kurdish and then discuss the function of personal markers, which are in my view not as complicated as HAIG (2008: 295) puts it (Section 6).

1. Introduction

It is well known that the past stem of nearly all of the New Iranian languages goes back to the Old Iranian past participle,³ and that the introduction of this nominal form into the verbal paradigm led to an untypical system of case assignment to the

¹ In this paper, the term “Sorani Kurdish” refers to standard Central Kurdish, which is spoken in Iraq and Iran, and which is based on the dialect of Sulaimaniya (Kurdish: *Silēmānī*), cf. KREYENBROEK (2005: Section “Sōrāni poetry”). The sources which were investigated for this article (‘ĀRIF 1986, JĀF 1970, OMAR 1993a–b, PIRAMERD 1935, around 1939) represent examples of this standard. The variations in these sources (e.g. the durative prefix *da-* vs. *a-*; the spelling of *r-* beside *ṛ-*, etc.) are irrelevant to the grammatical relations which are the topic of this article. Concerning the encoding properties of A and O in the past tense of transitive verbs, my sources behave similarly as far as I can tell. The same holds true for the data discussed by BYNON (1979, 1980) and HAIG (2008), which are not drawn from the standard language, but from dialects spoken in the Sulaimaniya region (plus some data from other regions also). For details of the dialects see, e.g., HAIG (2008) and MACKENZIE (1961).

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² LAZARD (2005: 84) notes ergative alignment for Sorani Kurdish.

³ Yaghnobi is the only exception known to me; here the past participle is still a past participle. For the simple past (or “aorist”) and the imperfect, the (diachronically speaking) augmented present stem, is used. The past participle is used for the analytic constructions of the perfect and pluperfect; i.e., the Old Iranian synthetic forms of the perfect and aorist disappeared even in Yaghnobi.

grammatical relations (such as A, O, S).⁴ There has been a long discussion about the interpretation of this past participle construction. The proposals suggested so far are the passive, the possessive, the ergative, and the agential construction. The following description refers to ergativity as it is found in fully ergative languages.⁵

Table 1. Accusative vs. ergative pattern.

accusative language		ergative language	
A	O	A	O
S		S	

In an accusative patterning language, a transitive verb assigns nominative case to its logical subject and accusative case to its logical object. In a description of a fully ergative language the term “subject” is problematic, and so A and S are used instead. A stands for the subject of a transitive verb, O for the object of a transitive verb and S for the subject of an intransitive verb. In an accusative language (also called nominative) A and S are treated in the same manner with respect to case assignment and/or agreement, while O is marked differently, that is to say it is assigned accusative case. In an ergative language, on the other hand, O and S are treated in the same manner while A is marked differently, viz. it is assigned ergative case. If there is no separate ergative case, an oblique case is used. For example, in Hindi the case of the agent goes back to the instrumental,⁶ while OP uses the genitive/dative.⁷

Table 2. Diatheses in relation to acc. and erg. pattern.

	active	passive	antipassive
accusative language	<u>A</u> OV ✓	O <u>V</u> marked	<u>A</u> V inherent
ergative language	A <u>O</u> V ✓	O <u>V</u> inherent	<u>A</u> V marked

To form the diathesis passive in a prototypically accusative language, so that O is promoted while A is demoted, a marked construction is necessary (referred to as “marked” in Table 2). In a prototypically ergative language, on the other hand, there is no need for a passive because O is the primary actant anyway, and A the secondary. The passive is, so to speak, inherent in the active construction in a prototypically ergative language. Hence an active of an ergative language can be interpreted as an active or as a passive of an accusative language depending on the context. The diathesis to promote A and demote O is called antipassive.⁸

⁴ See, e.g., SKJÆRVØ 1985, LAZARD 1984. For the term “grammatical relation” see PALMER (1994).

⁵ Languages with split ergativity differ in many respects from prototypical ergative languages.

⁶ BYNON (2005: 6ff.), BUBENÍK (1998: 137).

⁷ In OP the functions of the genitive and the dative have coalesced, the form of which is the genitive.

⁸ Iranian languages that show ergative patterns exhibit split ergativity; i.e., ergativity appears only in a subdomain, namely in all verbal forms derived from the former past participle. The continuous decline of the possibility of a passive interpretation as one can observe it, e.g., in MP, is surely connected with the occurrence of new passive forms.

2. Interpretation of the past participle construction

GEIGER (1893) introduced the term “passive construction” for the past participle construction. He obviously chose this term because in the Iranian languages which usually pattern accusatively, the A in a past participle construction is assigned oblique case and the O is assigned direct case (cf. Old Persian ex. 1). This is the coding pattern of a passive in an accusative language. It was not considered a problem that at least in the New Iranian languages this construction is by no means a passive.⁹

1)	<i>awaθā</i>	<i>-šām</i>	<i>hamaranam</i>	<i>kṛtam</i> ¹⁰
OP	there	3pl.EP	battle	done
		Gen./Dat.	Nom.sg.n	Nom.sg.n

“There they have fought a battle.” (DB II 27)

BENVENISTE (1952) emphasized the structural similarity of the possessive construction of the *mihi est* type¹¹ and the past participle construction in Old Persian (OP): in OP the possessor is assigned genitive/dative case, just like the A in a past participle construction. The possessum is assigned nominative case, just like the O in a past participle construction. The past participle could be interpreted syntactically as an attribute of O. Furthermore he remarked that some languages use auxiliaries to construct the perfect: *to be* originally for intransitive verbs, and *to have* originally for transitive verbs. Now, according to him, it is structurally the same in OP. OP, however, does not have a verb *to have*, and uses the possessive construction of the *mihi est* type instead. Hence OP makes use of the possessive construction (instead of *to have*) also for constructing the perfect of transitive verbs. And that is why the past participle construction is to be interpreted as a possessive construction and should be called accordingly. Cardona (1970) refuted a rather marginal argument of BENVENISTE.¹² Although he did not discuss BENVENISTE’s other observations, BENVENISTE’s approach has been abandoned and its designation and interpretation as a “passive construction” celebrated a revival, e.g., in BYNON 1979 & 1980 (but differently 2005). Finally LAZARD (1984) combined the arguments of both sides and expressed it succinctly (2005: 81 note 1):

On a discuté la question de savoir si cette construction est possessive ou passive. Vaine querelle. C’est, en iranien, une périphrase fonctionnellement active, formée d’un participe passif et d’un complément possessif représentant l’agent [...].

He dismissed the term “passive construction” with the argument that the past participle construction is the only way to express the perfect in OP (1984: 241f.). In other words, since there is no opposition active vs. passive, the motivation for the exist-

⁹ According to STEINER (1976: 231) this problem is simply of no importance; he suggests that it only concerns bilingual speakers. I fail to see the logic of this claim.

¹⁰ Underlyingly, the finite verb is *asti* (3sg. of “to be”), which is usually omitted.

¹¹ In this possessive construction the possessor stands in an oblique case, and the possessum in the direct case.

¹² BENVENISTE’s statement in question was that the agent in a passive construction had to be expressed by a prepositional phrase headed by *hačā*. But in DB V 15/16 we find enclitic pronouns in the genitive/dative in this function (DB V 31/32 is restituted). SKJÆRVØ (1985: 215f.) considers the postposition *rādi* possible in this function as well.

ence of a passive grows thin. Furthermore, SKJÆRVØ (1985: 217) mentioned that the past participle construction co-occurs with the imperfect active and passive. So the question of diathesis is a question of interpretation depending on the context. Hence we find a construction which is indifferent to the diatheses active and passive of an accusative language. This means that there is good reason to refer to the past participle construction in OP as an ergative construction (cf. Table 2).

To sum up, the past participle construction in OP is an ergative construction when O and S occur in the direct case and the verb agrees with them, and A occurs in an oblique case, but the construction does not function as a passive. That a passive interpretation is nevertheless sometimes possible is not only no counter argument, but, quite on the contrary, it is to be expected in an ergative setting (see the discussion for Table 2 above).

There is still one more term which has to be mentioned here: “agential construction”. This was introduced by MACKENZIE (1961) in his description of Central Kurdish (for a discussion see Section 4 below).

3. The past participle construction in Old Iranian

The OP verbal system underwent considerable changes. The past participle construction appears already as a fully grammaticalized verbal form for the perfect, and the aorist and the synthetic perfect are merely relics. Hence it is impossible to draw conclusions about the origin of the past participle construction by only looking at OP.

Avestan, at least Old Avestan, is more archaic than OP. The verbal system of Young Avestan seems to be already in a stage of change (cf. KELLENS 1984: 376, 377) so that one cannot be sure whether the attested aorist and perfect forms are 1) morphologically correct, but perhaps obsolete, 2) morphologically correct, but used in the wrong way, 3) morphologically incorrect, but correctly used, or 4) archaic or artificial forms.

There are Avestan examples of a past participle which can quite well be interpreted as having verbal function, and even as active ones (cf. the translation of ex. 2 and ex. 3 by KELLENS/PIRART 1988). In some cases an interpretation of the *mihi est* possessive type is possible (ex. 2: “this here is a found one to me” = “I have this found one here”),¹³ rather not plausible (ex. 4: “whom our souls have as a worshipped one”), or rather excluded (ex. 3: †“what we have as an asked one”, ex. 5: †“he has a Ratu-pleasing given one”).¹⁴

2)	<i>aēm</i>	<i>mōi</i>	<i>idā</i>	<i>vistō</i>
OAv.	this	EP1sg.	here	see.PP/find.PP
	Nom.sg.m	Gen./Dat.		Nom.sg.m
	“Ici, j’ai trouvé celui-ci [...]” (Y 29.8a)			

¹³ “I have him as someone found here.” Lit.: “This (one) is found (to) me here.”

¹⁴ The translations of the OAv. examples follow KELLENS/PIRART (1988). All other translations are my own. The various editions of the Avesta diverge in many cases.

3)	<i>pərəsā-čā</i>	<i>nā̇</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>tōi</i>	<i>āhmā</i>	<i>parštā</i>
OAv.	ask.Imv-and	EP1pl.	Rel.	EP2sg.	1pl.Pron.	ask.PP
		Acc.	Nom.pl.n	Gen./Dat.	Acc. or Instr.	Nom.pl.n

“[...] et demande-nous ce que tu nous as pourtant déjà demandé.” (Y 43.10c)

4)	<i>yā</i>	<i>nō</i>	<i>ištā</i>	<i>uruuōbiiō</i>
OAv.	Rel.	EP1pl.	worship.PP	soul
	Nom.pl.f	Gen./Dat.	Nom.pl.f	Dat./Abl.pl.m

“[...] who are worshipped by our souls” (Y 56.2d=j, 63.2d=j)

5)	<i>dātō</i>	<i>hē</i>	<i>mīazdō</i>	<i>ratufrīš</i>
YAv.	give.PP	EP3sg.	sacrifice	Ratu-pleasing
	Nom.sg.m	Gen./Dat.	Nom.sg.m	Nom.sg.m

“It is given by him, the sacrificial meal which pleases the ratus.” (Af 3.6g)

Looking only at OP, one could come to the conclusion that the past participle construction came into use because the aorist and perfect got lost. In OAv., however, the synthetic aorist and perfect forms are still in use (cf. KELLENS, 1984: 376 ff., 412 ff.), so that one wonders what the motivation for the past participle construction might have been.¹⁵

Looking at exx. 2–5, it seems obvious that the origin of the past participle construction was a nominal clause: the past participle is used as a predicative noun and agrees with its O, which is the grammatical subject of the clause. The A of the later ergative construction might have resulted from an actant which originally could have had various thematic roles. There could have been an extension of meaning from *dativus commodi* to agentivity (cf. DELBRÜCK 1893: 300 on the “Dativ der beteiligten Person”). Alternatively, the case may have been taken over from other non-canonical subject constructions (e.g. from the possessive construction of the *mihi est* type, cf. HAIG 2008: 82f.). The Avestan instances give no clear picture: various cases appear to be used to index the same thematic role.¹⁶ However, it is debatable whether the functions are indeed the same. Maybe the thematic roles of the verb triggered the choice of case, for instance, in the way that the actant was assigned instrumental case if it was an A lacking the feature [+control]; and was assigned genitive/dative case if the A was an agent.¹⁷

Probably this nominal clause filled a gap in the aspect-tense system. The synthetic perfect expressed a result of an action or process with respect to A (BRUGMANN 1916: 768). Perhaps the past participle construction expressed the result with respect to O (cf. DELBRÜCK 1897: 484).

¹⁵ Compare: Y 29.1a *kā mā tašat* “Qui m’a charpenté?” (KELLENS/PIRART 1988: 107), where *tašat* is 3sg. active injunctive aorist; Y 51.8b *yā ašəm dādrē* “qui a toujours soutenu l’Harmonie” (KELLENS/PIRART 1988: 182), where *dādrē* is 3sg. middle indicative perfect (characterized by reduplication).

¹⁶ In most instances, the agent is an enclitic pronoun in the genitive/dative (e.g. *mōi* in ex. 2). Possible examples with nouns have been interpreted in various ways; if interpreted as agent, cases used would include the genitive, the dative (e.g. *uruuōbiiō* in ex. 4: dative/ablative), and maybe also the instrumental (e.g. *ahū* in Y 29.6b).

¹⁷ I will discuss this problem in detail in my PhD thesis.

4. Comparing Persian and Sorani Kurdish

In what follows I will compare Persian and Sorani Kurdish¹⁸ to illustrate the similarities and differences between these two languages. From exx. 6a–9b one might conclude that Sorani Kurdish is a split ergative language: while in the present domain transitive verbs show accusative patterning (ex. 6a and ex. 8a), ex. 7a and ex. 9a¹⁹ appear to suggest an ergative pattern similar to the one seen in other Iranian languages. In the present tense transitive and intransitive verbs behave alike. For both cases, the subject (A in ex. 6a, S in ex. 6b) agrees with the personal ending (-*yt* or -*īt*, respectively).²⁰ The same applies for the past tense of intransitive verbs (ex. 7b). In the past tense of transitive verbs, however, the verb shows no ending at all (ex. 7a). This could be interpreted as a zero ending, which would be the ending of the 3sg. So one could posit agreement of O and the verb. Since A is indexed by an enclitic pronoun (EP), which is an oblique form,²⁵ the construction appears to be ergative.²¹

present			
6a) <i>tō kār da-ka-yt</i> SK you work Dur-make.Prs.-2sg. “You are working.”	6b) <i>tō da-xaw-īt</i> SK you Dur-sleep.Prs.-2sg. “You are sleeping.”		
past			
7a) <i>tō kār-it kird-∅?</i> SK you work-2sg.EP make.Prt.-3sg.? “You worked.”	7b) <i>tō xawt-īt</i> SK you sleep.Prt.-2sg. “You slept.”		

Exx. 8–9 show a 3sg. as subject. The present tense patterns accusatively (ex. 8a and ex. 8b). Ex. 9b illustrates that the ending of the 3sg. in the past tense is zero. In ex. 9a the object of ex. 8a (“two teacups”) occurs as personal ending. If one assumes pro-drop for O, one can posit agreement of O and the verb.

present			
8a) <i>aw dū pyāta da-bā</i> SK Dem. two teacup Dur-bring.Prs.3sg. “He/She is bringing two teacups.”	8b) <i>aw da-xaw-ē</i> SK Dem. Dur-sleep.Prs.-3sg. “He/She is sleeping.”		
past			
9a) <i>aw ∅? bird-in-ī</i> SK Dem. pro-drop? carry.Prt.-3pl.-3sg.EP “He/She brought them.”	9b) <i>aw xawt-∅</i> SK Dem. sleep.Prt.-3sg. “He/She slept.”		

¹⁸ In the examples taken from the literature, the orthography has been standardized. Especially PIRAMĒRD does not use diacritics for, e.g. /ō/ by <ۆ>. Short vowels are often not written. The examples of *Šār* are counted in sentences or lines respectively from p. 56 on. This inconvenient way of quoting is due to the problem that I only have my notes of a copy of the pages 56–68 which I numbered in the way described.

¹⁹ The full pronouns need not be present (pro-drop). ∅ stands for a zero-ending or a dropped pronoun.

²⁰ There are no case distinctions in Sorani.

²¹ The double occurrence of A in ex. 7a and ex. 9a – first as a full pronoun, then as an enclitic pronoun – could be explained as a way to emphasize A. However, Table 3 will show that this is not the case.

In ex. 9a O is expressed by the personal ending on the verb, but one can posit agreement of O and the verb only if one assumes pro-drop for O. However, a clause containing both O as a noun or personal pronoun and a personal ending indexing O does not occur in Sorani; the presence of one of these excludes the occurrence of the other (cf. exx. 10–21, where the full pronoun indexing O is highlighted). If O agreed with the verb in exx. 10–12, the clauses would be (10) †*tō-m nārd-īt*, (11) †*ēma-y hēnā-yn-a*, (12) †*mun-it hēnā-m-a*, which are all ungrammatical.

10) *wit-ī* *parīzād* *har* *awsāya* *ka* *tō-m* *nārd*
SK say.Prt.-3sg.EP PN every then when you-1sg.EP send.Prt.
“She said: Parīzād, just when I sent **you**,...” (MZ p. 7, l. 12)

11) *ēma-y* *hēnā-ya* *sar* *aw* *qīn-a* *ba* *dwāzda* *sīwār*
SK we-3sg.EP bring.Prt.-to on Dem. hate-Def. to twelf rider
“He made **us** hate the twelve riders.” (DSM p. 22, l. 13)

12) *āxirī* *mun-it* *hēnā-ya* *sar* *qīn-ī*
SK finally I-2sg.EP bring.Prt.-to on hate-3sg.EP
“Finally you made **me** hate him.” (MZ p. 21, l. 6–7)

Exx. 13–16 are instances of personal endings (highlighted) indexing O, whence O cannot be represented by a noun or a pronoun. In ex. 13, O is indexed by the personal ending in all the three clauses, twice followed by an enclitic pronoun. In ex. 14 the enclitic pronoun is attached to the durative prefix.

13) *rašabā* *hāt* *pēčā-m-y-awa* *lūl-ī* *kīrd-īm*
SK storm come.Prt. grab.Prt.-1sg.-3sg.EP-postv. turned-3sg.EP make.Prt.-1sg.
bird-īm-ī *tā* *čāw* *bir* *a-kā*
carry.Prt.-1sg.-3sg.EP till eye part Dur.-make.Prs.3sg.
“A storm came, grabbed **me**, spun **me** around, (and) took **me** as far as the eye can see.” (RD p. 72)

14) *kart-ī* *duwam* *la* *nāx-awa* *a-y-xwārd-īm-awa*
SK part-EZ second from inside-postp. Dur.-3sg.EP-eat.Prt.-1sg.-postv.
“The second part was eating **me** up from inside.” (DŠN p. 90)

In ex. 15, -y indexing the agent is attached to the object *pyāla*. The personal ending is a complement of the preposition *bō* (so *bō ...-in* “for them”); it does not agree with the object. The personal ending of the following verb does not refer to the same referent, but to the aforementioned object “two teacups”.

15) *dū* *pyāla-y* *bō* *tē-kīrd-in-u* *bird-īm-ī-ya* *žūr-awa*
SK two teacup-3sg.EP for in-make.Prt.-3pl.-and carry.Prt.-3pl.-3sg.EP-to room-postp.
“She filled two teacups for them and brought **them** into the room.” (Šār sentence 75)

In ex. 16 the agreement marker attaches to the object in all four instances: *ama-y*, *pōlīs-ī*, *-im-yān*, and *rū-y*. -y in *hōdaka-y* “his room” is an example of a possessive use of enclitic pronouns in the past tense. The personal ending of *tē-kīrd-īm* is a complement of the cliticized preposition *tē-*.

16) <i>raīs-ī</i>	<i>dāira</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>am-a-y</i>	<i>dī-bū</i>
SK director-EZ	office	when	this-Def.-3sg.EP	see.Prt.-be.Prt.
<i>ba hiddat-awa</i>	<i>pōlīs-ī</i>	<i>nārd</i>	<i>bird-im-yān</i>	
with anger-postp.	police-3sg.EP	send.Prt.	carry.Prt.-1sg.-3pl.EP	
<i>bō</i>	<i>sarāka</i>	<i>čū-m-a</i>	<i>nāw</i>	<i>hōda-ka-y-u</i>
to	headquarters	go.Prt.-1sg.-to	in	room-Def.-3sg.EP-and
<i>ba hiddat-awa</i>		<i>īū-y</i>	<i>tē-kird-im</i>	
with anger-postp.		face-3sg.EP	to-make.Prt.-1sg.	

“When the chief of the office saw this, he angrily sent the police. They brought **me** to the headquarters. I went into his room, and he looked at me angrily.” (MW p. 28, l. 16–17)

A comparison of Middle Persian and Sorani Kurdish transitive verbs in the past tense yields the pattern shown in Table 3. The unmarked word order is AOV in both languages. In MP the enclitic pronouns as well as the full pronouns can be dropped (pro-drop) while this is possible only for the full pronouns in Sorani Kurdish. In Sorani Kurdish, the enclitic pronouns must always be present. The implication is that A agrees with the enclitic pronouns in Sorani Kurdish.

Table 3. Clause structure of Middle Persian and Sorani Kurdish.

Middle Persian			Sorani Kurdish			
A	O	verb	A	O	function?	verb
N	N/Pron.	V	N	N/Pron.	EP	V
Pron.	N/Pron.	V	Pron.	N/Pron.	EP	V
EP	N/Pron.	V	∅	N/Pron.	EP	V
∅	N/Pron.	V	∅	N/Pron.	EP	V

The agreement of the enclitic pronouns with A has already been observed by BYNON (1979: 217). HAIG (2008: 288 ff.) agrees by speaking of “cross-reference” between A and the enclitic pronouns. According to him, however, there is twofold agreement: A with the enclitic pronouns, and O with the personal endings. So one can group S with O in opposition to A, which yields the ergative pattern. As mentioned above, O and the personal ending cannot co-occur. Therefore it is questionable whether the term agreement is applicable. Even if one only takes into account the set of personal markers in use (enclitic pronouns for A vs. personal endings for S and O), one cannot group S and O together because the personal endings can also replace any other oblique form (cf. Section 6).²² Their function in the past of transitive verbs as pronouns is different from their function in the past of intransitive verbs and in the present where they are true agreement markers.

MACKENZIE did not consider the co-occurrence of A and the enclitic pronouns to be agreement, but stated that the enclitic pronouns “resume” (i.e.: index again) A (MACKENZIE 1961: 107 f.). That is why he called them agent markers in the past tense of transitive verbs and the construction an “agential construction”.

Looking at Table 3, it is obvious that the term “agential construction” cannot be transferred to the ergative construction of MP. In MP, the enclitic pronouns do not agree with A (or “resume” it); unlike in Sorani Kurdish, they are not agent markers.

²² Furthermore, the sets of endings differ in the 3sg.: -ē in the present, and -∅ in the past, see Section 6.

Another difference is that O can still agree with the verb in MP while it does not do so in Sorani Kurdish. O is replaced by the personal ending. Hence the personal ending is pronominal. The enclitic pronouns and the verbal personal endings exchange their roles, so to speak. This raises the question of how to account for the situation in historical terms.

5. A proposal for Sorani Kurdish

To explain the situation in Sorani Kurdish it is helpful to look at the development of Persian: the nominal clause with a past participle as predicative noun becomes a verbal clause, yielding the two structures at stage 1 (Table 4).

Table 4. Persian stage 1.			
A (N/Pron.)	O (N/Pron.)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary “to be” (agreeing with O)
O (N/Pron.)	A (EP)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary “to be” (agreeing with O)

In MP the enclitic pronouns occur predominantly at the beginning of the clause, so that there is an AOV order (cf. stage 2a in Table 5).²³

Table 5. Persian stage 2a.			
A (N/Pron.)	O (N/Pron.)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary “to be” (agreeing with O)
A (EP) ²⁴	O (N/Pron.)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary “to be” (agreeing with O)

Furthermore the case distinction is lost. The enclitic pronouns, which are *per se* oblique forms,²⁵ remain the only indicator of the ergative construction when they express A. In some cases the agreement of O and the verb still reveals the ergative encoding patterns. Hence, in the frequent case of a noun in the 3sg.²⁶ as both A and O, the ergative construction is invisible. And the restructuring of the past tenses must have started at this point.²⁷ In the subsequent development of New Persian the enclitic pronouns remain oblique forms and no longer index A or agree with it.²⁸

Sorani Kurdish seems to have started out like the Persian stage 1 (Table 6).

Table 6. Sorani Kurdish stage 1.			
A (N/Pron.)	O (N/Pron.)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary “to be” (agreeing with O)
O (N/Pron.)	A (EP)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary “to be” (agreeing with O)

Unlike in Persian, however, the enclitic pronouns were not moved to the position of the grammatical subject to yield AOV order. Instead, it seems that the agent was

²³ In my MP data base there are 3046 EP in the function of A, of which 251 EP occur after O, of which 52 O are not relative pronouns (as of April 2009).

²⁴ When the EP comes first, it can be attached to, e.g., a conjunction.

²⁵ See NYBERG (1974: 279). The Middle and New Iranian enclitic pronouns derive from the Old Iranian enclitic ones; these are used for various oblique cases.

²⁶ In many instances the 3pl. is not resumed by an agreement marker either.

²⁷ In my MP data base there are 6280 instances of transitive verbs, of which 2783 are marked as agreeing with O, 2651 as agreeing with A or O, 680 as not agreeing at all. Already 148 transitive verbs are marked as agreeing with A (as of April 2009).

²⁸ Interestingly, the enclitic pronoun is used as an agreement marker of the 3sg. in the past tense of transitive as well as intransitive verbs in some New Persian dialects.

preposed to the clause, presumably in a hanging-topic position. Thus A seems to be doubled: A, OAV (stage 2b, Table 7).²⁹ The relation of the agent in the hanging-topic position and A in the form of an enclitic pronoun inside the clause can be viewed as topic agreement. This topic agreement was then reinterpreted as verbal agreement (stage 3, Table 8). The object-verb agreement does not necessarily have to be cancelled, but Sorani Kurdish abandoned it. Nevertheless, it retained the possibility of expressing the object as an enclitic pronoun if it does not occur as a nominal phrase, but in the form of a personal ending of the verb.

In the past tense of transitive verbs, the personal endings function as enclitic pronouns and can encode not only the object, but other oblique forms as well (cf. Section 6). They retain their morpho-syntactic restrictions; i.e., they can only occur in a position attached to the verbal stem.³⁰ Likewise, the enclitic pronouns functioning as personal endings in the past tense of transitive verbs retained their morpho-syntactic behaviour. They occur in the second position of their phrase. The fact that they cannot be attached to the grammatical subject in modern Sorani Kurdish could be explained by the subject not originally having been part of the clause because it appeared in a hanging-topic position.³¹

Table 7. Sorani Kurdish stage 2b.

A (hanging topic)	O (N/Pron.)	A (EP)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary “to be” (agreeing with O)
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The auxiliary might have developed into a personal ending in stage 2b. This is connected to the development of the past participle into the past stem.

Table 8. Sorani Kurdish stage 3.

A (N/Pron.)	O (N/Pron.)	EP (agreeing with A)	verb	–
A (N/Pron.)	X	EP (agreeing with A)	verb	O (personal ending)

One might want to relate stages 1–3 of Sorani Kurdish to historical periods. As we do not have Sorani Kurdish sources from these periods,³² such an attempt can only be based on a comparison with the historical development of Persian. Stage 1 might refer to *Old Sorani Kurdish, stage 2b to *Middle Sorani Kurdish, and stage 3 to New Sorani Kurdish. Needless to say, this remains hypothetical, and it is of course

²⁹ Cf. BYNON (1979, 1980). In these articles she considers a passive construction as the starting point of the past participle construction while she suggests a “modally marked evidential” as its origin in BYNON (2005: 1). The described hanging-topic construction (cf. Table 7) is still very common with transitive and intransitive verbs in Sorani Kurdish.

³⁰ When enclitic pronouns and personal endings appear together on the past tense stem, the order can vary (cf. Section 6).

³¹ Cf. HAIG (2008: 285): “In Suleimani, the general rule for clitic placement is that clitics attach to the leftmost constituent of their phrases.” If one considers the subject to be outside the verbal phrase, one obtains an explanation of why the enclitic pronouns tend to occur at the beginning of the clause, but are never attached to the subject. I assume that they cannot even occur in front of the subject. However, further research is necessary to answer this question properly.

³² The earliest authors who wrote in Sorani Kurdish are from the first half of the 19th century, and those who wrote in Kurmanji Kurdish are from the second half of the 16th century (KREYENBROEK 2005).

possible that the changes took place in the Kurdish of the Old or New Iranian period, unlike the development in Persian. At any rate, if Sorani Kurdish and Kurmanji Kurdish have a common predecessor, then they should have separated at stage 2b, at whatever time this stage is to be located.

6. Functions of personal markers in Sorani Kurdish

The functions of the personal markers (enclitic pronouns and personal endings) were already mentioned in the preceding sections. Here I will provide a more systematic overview both to illustrate their various functions in more detail and because HAIG (2008: 290–301) devotes a long discussion to the issue.

There are two kinds of personal markers in Sorani Kurdish: enclitic pronouns and personal endings (see Table 9).

Table 9. Personal markers in Sorani Kurdish.³³

	enclitic pronouns		personal endings	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st	-(i)m	-(i)mān ³⁴	-(i)m	-īn/-yn
2nd	-(i)t	-(i)tān	-īl/-y ³⁵	-(i)n ³⁶
3rd	-ī/-y	-yān	-ē ³⁷	

In all forms derived from the present stem, the personal endings function as agreement markers, and the enclitic pronouns function as any oblique form. In exx. 17–19, the enclitic pronoun is highlighted. It is attached to the durative prefix or the negation, and represents the object.

17) *nā-m-nās-īt?*

SK Neg.-1sg.EP-know.Prs.-2sg.

“Don’t you know **me**?” (*Šār* sentence 131)

18) *min da-y-zān-im*

SK I Dur.-3sg.EP-know.Prs.-1sg.

“I know **him**.” (MZ p. 15, l. 14)

³³ The alternations of the suffixes are due to euphonic reasons.

³⁴ Haig (2008: 297) mentions that “in the dialects of Piždar and Mukri, the first person plural forms of the pronominal clitics (in most dialects =*mān*) are often replaced by a form *-in* [i.e. *-m*], clearly reminiscent of the corresponding Set 2 agreement suffix [i.e. *-īn*].” Haig concludes (2008: 297): “the distinction between pronominal clitics and agreement suffixes has blurred, both functionally and phonologically.” However, the 1pl. enclitic pronoun *-m* is probably not an innovation (“replacing” an old form), but an archaism. Similarly, Middle Persian shows a 1pl. *-n* < Old Iranian **-nāh* (cf. Old Avestan *-nā*) in older texts, besides more common *-mān*, which is an innovation by adding the plural suffix *-ān* to the 1sg. enclitic pronoun *-m*. Hence, the personal markers do not tend to coincide. On the contrary, they tend to be more clearly distinguished (cf. KORN in this volume).

³⁵ The ending of the 2sg. imperative is usually *-a*. Some verbs have a special subjunctive stem which is occasionally used, e.g. “to do”: Prt. *kurd-*, Prs. *ka-*, subjunctive stem *kar-*.

³⁶ Pro-drop is possible despite the 2pl. and 3pl. not being distinguished.

³⁷ There are a few verbs with a different 3sg. Verbs the present stem of which ends in *°ē-* do not take the ending *-ē*. One may assume a zero ending or a contraction of stem and ending. Verbs whose present stem ends in *°a-* end in *°ā* in the 3sg., e.g., *da-ka-m* “I do”, *da-kā* “he/she/it does”.

- 19) *ēstā dā-m-a-nē-n*
 SK now down-1sg.EP-Dur.-lay.Prs.-3pl.
 (here:) “Then they make **me** sit (again).” (MW p. 31, l. 3)

In ex. 20 the enclitic pronoun is a complement of the cliticized adposition *-ē*.

- 20) *key da-m-de-yt-ē?*
 SK when Dur.-1sg.EP-give.Prs.-2sg.-to
 “When will you give (it) **to me**?” (*Šār* sentence 67)

Furthermore, the enclitic pronouns can be used as possessive pronouns (for examples see MACKENZIE 1961: 76ff.).

In the past tense of intransitive verbs the functions of the personal markers remain the same. Conversely, in the past tense of transitive verbs the subject always agrees with an agreement marker in the form of an enclitic pronoun. Additional enclitic pronouns can occur in the same sentence with their usual functions as possessive pronouns or as complements of prepositions³⁸ (cf. ex. 21):

- 21) *dwāyī bāwk-ut pē-y-wut-īt*
 SK afterwards father-2sg.EP to-3sg.EP-say.Prt.-2sg.
 “Afterwards **your** father said to you, ...” (*Šār* sentence 117)

There are two enclitic pronouns in this example: *-ut* serving as a possessive pronoun (highlighted), and *-y-* as the agreement marker.

Ex. 21 illustrates another change of function. As already explained, the personal ending can represent the object (cf. exx. 13–16). If this is not the case, the personal ending is free to represent any oblique form. In ex. 21, the personal ending *-īt* is governed by the prefixed preposition *pē-*: *pē-...-īt* “to you”. In exx. 22 and 23, the personal endings represent possessors: *pal ... -īt* “your arms”, *taqrīr ... -im* “my report”. The enclitic pronouns attached to the objects are the agreement markers. This change of function may be confusing at first glance.

- 22) *hāt-im pal-yān bast-īt-awa*
 SK come.Prt.-3pl. arm-3pl.EP bind.Prt.-2sg.-postv.
 “They came (and) bound **your** arms.” (DŠN p. 36)

- 23) *hāsīt bird-im-yān bō pōlīsxāna lawē taqrīr-yān wargirt-im*
 SK in short carry.Prt.-1sg.-3pl.EP to police station there report receive.Prt.-1sg.
 “In short, they brought me to the police station. There they accepted **my** report.” (MW p. 29, l. 22)

In the following examples the personal ending represents the complement of an adposition (both highlighted). In ex. 29 it is the circumposition *basar ...-dā* which governs the personal ending.

- 24) *mindāt-ēk-yān jinēw-ī pē-dā-m-u tif-ī lē-kird-im*
 SK child-Indef.-3pl.EP abuse-3sg.EP to-give.Prt.-1sg.-and saliva-3sg.EP to-make.Prt.-1sg.
 “One of their kids swore **at me** and spat **at me**.” (*Šār* sentence 9)

³⁸ The same holds true for Middle Persian with the only exception that the enclitic pronouns do not agree with A in the past tense but represent it (cf. BRUNNER 1977: 97ff.).

- 25) *dwāyī bāwk-ut pē-y-wut-ū*
 SK afterwards father-2sg.EP to-3sg.EP-say.Prt.-2sg.
 “Afterwards your father said **to you**, ...” (*Šār* sentence 117)
- 26) *bi-zān-a čon-ım bō rāzāndū-yt-awa!*
 SK Subj.-know-Ipv.sg. how-1sg.EP for decorate.Prt.-2sg.-postv.
 “Have a look, how I decorated (it) **for you!**” (*Šār* sentence 197)
- 27) *min-īš šaw-ēk pē-m-wut-ım*
 SK I-too night-Indef. to-1sg.EP-say.Prt.-3pl.
 “And one night I said **to them**:...” (MW p. 21, l. 3–4)
- 28) *baṭām xwā am-īš-ī ba xēr bō na-gērā-m*
 SK but god Dem.-too-3sg.EP to good for Neg.-turn.Prt.-1sg.
 “But God didn’t turn this into good **for me**.” (MW p. 28, l. 8)
- 29) *dast-ī ba-sar-dā zāt kird-īm*
 SK hand-3sg.EP to-on-postp. dominant make.Prt.-1pl.
 “He extended his dominance over us.” (MZ p. 18, l. 18–19)

In ex. 30 the personal ending represents the benefactive.

- 30) *aw xušk-ī xō-y pēškaš kird-ım*
 SK Dem. sister-EZ self-3sg.EP³⁹ present make.Prt.-1sg.
 “He gave **me** his own sister as a present.” (MZ p. 23, l. 12)

Ex. 31 mirrors ex. 20, which is in the present tense. In ex. 20 the complement of the cliticized preposition *-ē* is an enclitic pronoun attached to the durative prefix: *da-m-de-yt-ē*; in ex. 31 it is the personal ending: *na-a-dā-m-ē*.

- 31) *awsā agar ba-šīrīnī qisa-m na-kird-āya*
 SK then if with-sweetness word-1sg.EP Neg.-make.Prt.-Irr.
tūtun-aka-yān na-a-dā-m-ē
 tobacco-Def.-3pl.EP Neg.-Dur.-give.Prt.-1sg.-to
 “Then, if I hadn’t spoken friendly, they wouldn’t have given **me** the tobacco.”
 (MW p. 24, l. 22–23)

To clarify the change of function of the personal markers, Table 10 visualizes how the core arguments (subject and object) and various other oblique functions (e.g. benefactives, possessors, etc.) can be represented by personal markers depending on the verbal stem.

Table 10. Representation of constituents by personal markers.			
	subject	obliqui	object
present	personal ending	enclitic pronoun	
past	enclitic pronoun		personal ending

³⁹ *خوی* stands for *خوی*. The first *ی* represents the possessive pronoun and the second the enclitic pronoun, which functions as agreement marker of a transitive verb in the past tense.

The use of the enclitic pronouns for oblique forms in the past of transitive verbs is not surprising. It is the use of the personal endings for oblique forms which deserves attention. There are a few instances of this phenomenon in Middle Iranian.⁴⁰ A probable explanation of this phenomenon in Sorani may be the following: the personal endings functioned as agreement markers (agreeing with O). When the function of agreement was taken over by the enclitic pronouns (agreeing with A) in the way sketched in Section 5, the use of the personal endings was shifted to pronominal reference of O. Since the personal endings now had pronominal functions, their reference could be enlarged to include other oblique forms.

HAIG (2008) considers the personal endings in the past of transitive verbs as agreement markers. Thus, the sequence of personal markers in *dī-m-īt* ‘I saw you’ (cf. ex. 32) is problematic for him (cf. HAIG 2008: 290ff.) and within his framework, the personal ending *-īt* should come first. Instead, the enclitic pronoun is attached to the past stem, followed by the personal ending.⁴¹ Nevertheless, if one interprets the personal ending as a pronoun, and the enclitic pronoun as an agreement marker, the sequence matches the expectations.

32) *hēnda nāsik bū-yt ka dī-m-īt*
 SK so lovely be.Prt.-2sg. when see.Prt.-1sg.EP-2sg.
 ‘You were so lovely when I saw **you**.’ (RD p. 98)

On the other hand, the personal ending which represents O comes first when A is 3sg. (cf. ex. 33), and occasionally also when it is 3pl. (cf. exx. 16 and 23). For a detailed description, see HAIG (2008: 292).

33) *kird-īt-y-a mar*
 SK make.Prt.-2sg.-3sg.EP-to sheep
 ‘He turned **you** into a sheep.’ (DŠN p. 34)

I think one can best explain the variations in the sequence of personal markers by assuming a conflict between form and function: in the past of transitive verbs, personal endings which represent O are formally endings but functionally pronouns. The enclitic pronouns which agree with A are formally pronouns but functionally endings. When form wins over function, the personal endings come first. Where the order is the other way around, function triumphs over form, i.e. agreement markers precede pronominals. It seems that the choice of the appropriate sequence is triggered by the degree of markedness of A. The most unmarked form is the 3sg. In such a case the form triggers the sequence of the personal markers. If A is a speech act participant (1st or 2nd person), the function triggers the sequence. If A is a 3pl.,

⁴⁰ So far I have collected instances for Bactrian, Middle Persian, and Parthian. However, most of these examples would need a detailed discussion, so I only give one quite certain example from Middle Persian: *čē agar-im kāmag hād ēg-im rāh ī rāst nimūd hēnd* ‘because if it was desirable for me, then I would have shown them the right way’ (*Škandgumānīg Wizār* Chapter 11, sentence 271), where *hēnd* is 3pl. and refers to the indirect object ‘them’. The modal translation is due to the preceding if-clause; *nimūd hēnd* is formally a simple past. See also MACKENZIE (1964), TAFAZZOLI (1986), and YOSHIDA (2003: 157b) on this matter.

⁴¹ I have not seen any instance of the enclitic pronoun attached to the conjunction *ka*, which would be the preferred pattern, e.g., in MP.

the sequence is arbitrary. It remains a task for further investigation whether e.g. A as a 3pl. comes first when its referent is animate or human.

7. Conclusion

Sorani Kurdish is an accusative language without split ergativity. However, the enclitic pronouns and the verbal personal endings exchange their roles in the past tense of transitive verbs. Agreement is achieved with enclitic pronouns. The personal endings function as pronouns and may refer to O or any other oblique form. This state of affairs reflects an earlier split ergativity system in Sorani Kurdish, which resembles the Middle Persian type. In contrast to Middle Persian, Sorani Kurdish grammaticalized topic agreement as verbal agreement. Hence, the crucial point is to figure out whether enclitic pronouns agree with A, or whether they are A themselves. Their occurrence alone is no evidence of ergativity.

Abbreviations

A	= subject of a transitive verb, logical subject
abl.	= ablative
acc.	= accusative
Af	= Āfirīnagān
dat.	= dative
DB	= the OP inscription of Darius at Behistūn
Def.	= definiteness ending (occurring in the definite article in the singular: <i>-(a)k-a</i> , and together with the demonstrative pronouns <i>am-a</i> = “this” and <i>aw-a</i> = “that”. In case of attribution it is suffixed to the referent, e.g.: <i>am pyāw-a</i> = “this man”)
Dem.	= demonstrative pronoun
DSM	= PĪRAMĒRD (1935)
DŠN	= OMAR (1993b)
Dur.	= durative prefix (building present and imperfect: <i>(d)a-</i>)
EP	= enclitic pronoun
erg.	= ergative
ex(x).	= example(s)
EZ	= Ezafe
f.	= feminine
Indef.	= indefiniteness ending, singular ending respectively (functions as indefinit article: <i>-ēk</i> , <i>-yak</i>)
Imv.	= imperative
Instr.	= instrumental
Irr.	= irrealis
m.	= masculine
MP	= Middle Persian
MW	= JAF (1970)
MZ	= PĪRAMĒRD (around 1939)
n.	= neuter
N	= noun
Neg.	= negation (in the present: <i>nā-</i> , in the imperative: <i>ma-</i> , otherwise: <i>na-</i>)
Nom.	= nominative
O	= object of a transitive verb, logical object
OAv.	= Old Avestan
OP	= Old Persian

∅	= zero-ending or pro-drop
pl.	= plural
PN	= proper name
PP	= past participle
postp.	= postposition (- <i>dā</i> and -(<i>a</i>) <i>wa</i>)
postv.	= postverb -(<i>a</i>) <i>wa</i>)
Pron.	= personal pronoun
Prs.	= present (present stem of the verb)
Prt.	= preterite (past stem of the verb)
RD	= OMAR (1993a)
Rel.	= relative pronoun
S	= subject of an intransitive verb
sg.	= singular
SK	= Sorani Kurdish
Subj.	= subjunctive prefix (building subjunctive present and past and the imperative: <i>b(i)-</i>)
Šār	= ‘ĀRIF (1986)
V	= verb
Y	= Yasna
YAv.	= Young Avestan

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Western Iranian Pronominal Clitics

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Abstract

This article attempts to account for the derivation of pronominal clitics in contemporary Western Iranian languages. It argues against the common assumption (detailed in Section I) that all clitics derive from the genitive/dative ones of Old Iranian and explores the alternative possibility that some clitics in Western Iranian languages may derive from the OIr. accusative forms, or may represent a general oblique form resulting from a coalescence of the OIr. gen./dat. and acc. clitics (Section II). A derivation from such a general oblique is specifically plausible for the plural clitics in those Western Ir. varieties (discussed in Section III) whose pl. clitics are not derived from the sg. ones. This implies a revision of a morphological isogloss which has posited a certain grouping of the Western Iranian languages on the basis of the distribution of two variants of the 3rd sg. clitic, and suggests a more complex picture (Section IV). Although they do not belong to the Western Iranian group, data from Avestan and Sogdian will be used to broaden the basis for comparison with contemporary Ir. languages.¹

I. Introduction

Most contemporary Western Iranian languages make use of enclitic pronouns, which have also been called “suffixed pronouns” and “pronominal clitics”.² They are used as enclitic counterparts of the stressed personal pronouns in all oblique functions³ including the marking of objects, the possessor,⁴ and, in those Ir. varieties that show ergative patterns, the agent of ergative constructions.

The existence of pronominal clitics alongside the stressed pronouns is inherited from Old Iranian (and ultimately from Proto-Indo-European⁵). In ancient Indo-European languages, their paradigm differs from that of the stressed pronouns through their having fewer separate forms. For instance, there is only one clitic for the genitive and dative, while the full pronouns have separate forms for these cases. This situation is reflected in the OIr. languages Avestan and Old Persian (see Table 7).

¹ I am very grateful to Thomas Jügel for his careful reading and commenting of a previous version, and to Nicholas Sims-Williams for advice on Sogdian. In this paper, Old Iranian forms marked by an asterisk refer to phonological forms underlying both Old Persian and Avestan, but disregarding their specificities. The actual forms of the Old Ir. clitics are found in Table 7.

² Among the WIr. languages, no such clitics are found in Sangesari, Zazaki, and Northern Kurdish (WINDFUHR 1975: 462).

³ Broadly speaking, the oblique case of Western Middle and New Ir. languages derives from the OIr. genitive (cf. e.g. SALEMANN 1901: 275–276). Already within Old Iranian, the genitive and the dative cases merge (retaining the form of the genitive for both case functions). In some New Ir. varieties (including New Persian), the distinction of direct vs. oblique case has been lost, but even in these varieties, the pronominal clitics are still mostly used in the oblique functions.

⁴ In some WIr. varieties, it is not the pronominal clitics that are used in possessive function, but forms that derive from combinations with a preposition (OIr. **hača* “from, according to”, e.g. Talyshi *čaman*, LECOQ 1989b: 299) in Northern Talyshi, Tati, Harzandi and also in remnants elsewhere (WINDFUHR 1975: 462). Parallel forms are also found in Eastern Ir. languages (see WENDTLAND in this volume).

⁵ See e.g. FORTSON (2004: 129) for the PIE pronominal clitics.

The pronominal clitics for the singular in contemporary Ir. languages have generally been derived from the OIr. genitive/dative pronominal clitics, e.g. New Persian 1sg. *-am*, 2sg. *-at*, 3sg. *-aš* < Old Persian *-mai*y, *-tai*y, *-šai*y (Table 1).⁶

Table 1. Derivation of New Persian pronominal clitics.⁷

		NP clitics	derivation
sg.	1st	<i>-am</i>	< OP <i>-mai</i> y
	2nd	<i>-at</i>	< OP <i>-tai</i> y
	3rd	<i>-aš</i>	< OP <i>-šai</i> y
			: from OIr. gen./dat. clitics
pl.	1st	<i>-(e)mān</i>	← sg. + pl. suffix <i>-ān</i> ⁸
	2nd	<i>-(e)tān</i>	
	3rd	<i>-(e)šān</i>	

The New Persian forms are largely identical to those found in Middle Persian and Parthian (Table 2).

Table 2. Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian clitics.⁹

		Middle Persian	Parthian
sg.	1st		<i>-(u)m</i>
	2nd		<i>-(u)t, -(u)d</i>
	3rd		<i>-(i)š</i>
pl.	1st	<i>-n</i> (rare), <i>-mān</i>	<i>-mān</i>
	2nd	<i>-(i)tān, -idān</i>	<i>-tān</i>
	3rd		<i>-(i)šān</i>

The form of the 3sg. pronominal clitic has been considered a “long recognized Old Iranian isogloss” (WINDFUHR 1989: 259) defining the relationships within Western Iranian (Table 3). The 3sg. clitics have generally been held to derive from either OIr. **-šai*, as in Persian, or from **-hai*.¹⁰ Both forms are variants of the same 3sg. pronominal clitic. In Proto-Iranian, **-šai* figures in phonological contexts summarized by the so-called “*ruki* rule”, and **-hai* in other contexts, and this use can still be seen in Avestan.¹¹

⁶ An alternative to this *communis opinio* has been suggested by Lecoq (see footnote 37). For the plural clitics, see Section III. There are also pronominal clitics that appear to derive from the copula or from verbal endings (for examples, see Table 9). These will be discussed elsewhere.

⁷ Cf. e.g. RASTORGUEVA / MOLČANOVA (1981: 82). Here and in the following paradigms, forms with bracketed vowels imply the variants with vowel occurring after consonants and those without vowel after vowels (and occasionally also after sonorants).

⁸ The suffix *-ān* derives from the OIr. gen.pl. ending **-ānām*.

⁹ These forms are deduced from the transliterated ones given by SIMS-WILLIAMS (1981: 171–172, where more details can be found) and apply the observation by DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2000: 169–172) that (specifically in Parthian) an orthographic variation <d> / <ɖ> encodes /d/ where it is the Middle Ir. reflex of OIr. *t*, while word-internal /t/ is written <t>: the orthographic variation in the clitics of the 2nd person appears to suggest that there are two variants, one with /d/ (showing the development of OIr. **t* after vowel) and one with /t/ (maybe adjusted to the full pronoun of the 2sg.).

¹⁰ See e.g. MACKENZIE (1961a: 83), Sims-Williams (in EMMERICK / SKJÆRVØ 1987: 74), WINDFUHR (1996: 365).

¹¹ See e.g. HOFFMANN / FORSSMAN (1996: 111, 162), BARTHOLOMAE (1904: 1726–1727).

Table 3. Isogloss grouping WIr. languages according to 3rd sg. pronominal clitics as assumed e.g. by TEDESCO (1921: 215–216), WINDFUHR (1975: 462, 469), LECOQ (1989a: 256–257, 263).

	< OIr. gen./dat. *-hai	< OIr. gen./dat. *-šai
Middle Ir.		Middle Persian, Parthian
New Ir.	Kurdish, Khuri, Kohrudi, Harzandi, Balochi, Bashkardi, Bandar Abbasi ¹²	New Persian, remaining New Western Iranian

The derivation of the clitics from the OIr. genitive/dative form is confirmed by the fact that the stressed pronouns also derive from the corresponding OIr. genitive forms, as e.g. in Middle Persian (Table 4).

Table 4. Derivation of Middle Persian pronouns (oblique or sole form).¹³

		Middle Persian	< OIr. genitive
sg.	1st	<i>man</i>	OP <i>manā</i>
	2nd	<i>tō</i>	OP * <i>tawā</i> (Av. <i>tauua</i>)
pl.	1st	<i>amā(h)</i>	OP <i>amāxam</i>
	2nd	<i>ašmā(h)</i>	OP * <i>xšmāxam</i> (Av. <i>xšmākəm</i>)

Similarly, the oblique case markers of the nouns have been assumed to go back to the OIr. genitive ending (Table 5).

Table 5. Derivation of the nominal endings of *Early MP and Parthian.¹⁴

	direct case	oblique case	< OIr. genitive endings
sg.	-∅	-ē (> -∅)	*-ahya
pl.		-ān (> pl. suffix)	*-ānām

So one can say that the Western Middle Ir. (MP and Parthian) oblique forms of nouns and pronouns collectively derive from the corresponding OIr. genitive forms and endings.¹⁵ This would fit with the general assumption that the clitics derive from the OIr. genitive/dative.

II. Clitics deriving from the OIr. accusative

However, in addition to the pronominal clitics going back to the OIr. genitive/dative, some Ir. languages also have forms deriving from the OIr. acc. forms. For instance, Sogdian has a 2sg. going back to the OIr. acc. clitic (Table 6).¹⁶ The pl. forms are based on the sg. ones, as in New Persian.¹⁷

¹² Khuri and Kohrudi belong to the so-called “central dialects”. Harzandi is a Tati variety (see Section III).

¹³ Cf. e.g. RASTORGUEVA / MOLČANOVA (1981: 81), KORN 2005b: 291 (also for the closely parallel Parthian system). For details about the 1pl. and 2pl. forms, see KLINGENSCHMITT (2000: 203 footnote 40).

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. RASTORGUEVA / MOLČANOVA (1981: 58), SIMS-WILLIAMS (1981: 169 footnote 20), KORN (2005b: 296).

¹⁵ The family terms pattern slightly differently, though, see SIMS-WILLIAMS (1981: 166–171), KORN (2005b: 295).

¹⁶ In some Sogdian texts, the difference in case functions is preserved, while Manichean and Buddhist Sogdian use *-f(y)*, *-β(y)* “indiscriminately for both acc. and gen.” (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985: 77).

¹⁷ GERSHEVITCH (1942: 100) assumes the existence of a 1pl. acc. clitic *-n* (< OIr. acc. *-nāh), but the two or three alleged occurrences (all in the Buddhist text *Vessantara Jātaka*) can be interpreted differently (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996).

		forms ¹⁸	derivation ¹⁹
sg.	1st	-m(y)	< OIr. gen./dat. *-mai, acc. *-mā, abl. *-mad
	2nd	gen./dat. -t(y)	< OIr. gen./dat. *-tai
		acc./abl. -f(y), -β(y)	< OIr. acc. *-θwā, abl. *-θwad ²⁰
	3rd	gen./dat. -š(y) acc. -šw	< OIr. gen./dat. *-šai, acc. *-šim -š + nominal acc. ending ²¹
pl.	1st	-mn	← sg. + -an (< *-anām < OIr. *-ānām)
	2nd	-tn	
		-fn, -βn	
3rd	-šn		

The presence of such forms in Middle Iranian opens up the possibility that some pronominal clitics which have so far not been explained convincingly²² could derive from OIr. acc. case forms, which are listed in Table 7.

		Old Iranian		cf. Vedic
		genitive/dative	accusative	
sg.	1st	OP -mai OAv. -mōi, YAv. -mē	OP, Av. -mā	gen./dat. -me acc. -mā
	2nd	OP -tai OAv. -tōi, -tē, YAv. -tē	Av. -θβā	gen./dat. -te acc. -tvā
	3rd	OP -šai OAv. -hōi, YAv. -hē, -šē	m., f.: OP -šim, -dim; Av. -īm, -hūm, -dim; n.: Av. -ī, -dī	acc. -īm, -sīm; n. -ī
pl.	1st	OAv. -nā, YAv. -nō ²⁴	OAv. -nā, YAv. -nō	obl. -nas
	2nd	OAv. -vā, YAv. -vō	OAv. -vā, YAv. -vō	obl. -vas
	3rd	OP -šām	m., f.: OP -šāš, -dīš; Av. -īš, -hīš, -dīš n.: Av. -ī, -dī	acc. -īm, -sīm; n. -ī

We will first turn to the 2sg. clitic, of which two different forms are found in Sogdian. Most New WIr. languages show a 2sg. pronominal clitic -(V)t, as does New Persian, but some varieties have other forms. Among these are the clitics found

¹⁸ GERSHEVITCH (1954: 202–205), SIMS-WILLIAMS (1985: 227, 233, 238).

¹⁹ SIMS-WILLIAMS (1996: 161, 164). The -y in the sg. is likely to be “the secondary addition of the (nominal) oblique ending -y” (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 164 footnote 5).

²⁰ The variation -f vs. -β in the 2sg. acc./abl. form depends on the script employed: the Manichean and Christian texts have -f, texts in Sogdian script -β- (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2004: 542).

²¹ Nicholas Sims-Williams (p.c.).

²² Cf. e.g. MOŠKALO (1991: 47): “The history of the Balochi enclitic pronouns is not easily and clearly traceable. Although it is to be assumed that they derive from the gen./dat. sg. of the corresponding Old Iranian enclitic pronouns, it is not possible to trace the history of their development, and they differ considerably from their predecessors in their form.”

²³ The Avestan and Old Persian forms are quoted from HOFFMANN / FORSSMAN (1996: 160–162; hyphens for Avestan added), Old Persian also from BRANDENSTEIN / MAYRHOFER (1964: 66–67). OP clitics are not attested for all persons. For the distribution of the 3rd person clitics, see Section I. The Old Indic forms for the 3rd person given here are those that match the OIr. forms; they are relic forms already in Vedic, and both -īm and -sīm are not differentiated for number and gender (see KUPFER 2002: 128–150, 252–260, 315–323, 336–342 for a detailed analysis of these forms).

²⁴ The OAv. gen./dat. forms (and the YAv. acc. ones) derive from OIr. *-nah, *-wah, corresponding to the Old Indic forms. The OAv. acc. forms derive from *-nāh, *-wāh (HOFFMANN / FORSSMAN 1996: 160–161), so Young Avestan seems to show a generalization of the gen./dat. form (thus DE VAAN 2003: 9).

in some Sorani dialects (Table 8). These forms differ from those of Standard Sorani,²⁵ but appear particularly relevant for the discussion here.

Table 8. Pronominal clitics of some Sorani dialects.

		MACKENZIE (1961: 76–77) ²⁶	derivation
sg.	1st	-(i)m	< OIr. gen./dat. *-mai (and/or acc. *-mā)
	2nd	-(i)t	< OIr. gen./dat. -tai
		-u ²⁷	< OIr. acc. *-θwā?
3rd	-ē	< OIr. gen./dat. *(V)hai?	
	-ī	same as -ē, or < OIr. acc. *(h)īm? ²⁸	
pl.	1st	-(i)n ²⁹	< OIr. gen./dat. *-nah and/or acc. *nāh ³⁰
		-mān	← sg. + -ān
	2nd	-ī ²⁹	< OIr. gen./dat. *-wah (and/or acc. *wāh ?) ³¹
		-tān	
	3rd	-yān	← sg. + -ān

For the 2sg. clitic *-u*, a derivation from the OIr. gen./dat. *-tai does not at all appear likely. Conversely, a derivation from the OIr. accusative *-θwā would provide a convenient explanation for the form, since the same development of the cluster *θw is seen in the Sorani numeral “four”, which is *čwār* (< OIr. *čaθwārō), suggesting a regular change of OIr. *θw > w or u in Sorani.³² The more common variant for the 2sg. clitic in Sorani is *-(i)t*. Unless *-(i)t* has been borrowed from Persian, Sorani dialects would even preserve reflexes of two different OIr. clitics, as does Sogdian. At any rate, Sorani does appear to preserve a reflex of an OIr. acc. clitic.

The Sorani 3sg. clitic is also markedly different from that of NP. Its variants, *-ē* and *-ī*, have been derived from OIr. *-hai (see Table 3). A development of OIr. *-hai to Sorani *-ī* or *-ē* is indeed quite possible because *-ī* and *-ē* are also the results of a similar sequence in the verbal ending of the 2sg. (which is likely to go back to *-ayahi or *-ahi).³³

There is a problem, however, in that the OIr. verbal ending is a polysyllabic element, while a derivation of *-ī* or *-ē* from *-hai would have to assume a preservation of the word-final diphthong that seems to be without parallel in Western Iranian: it would be surprising if OIr. *-hai yielded *-ī* or *-ē*, whereas OIr. *-mai gives *-m*, and

²⁵ Standard Sorani has sg. *-(i)m*, *-(i)t*, *-ī/y*, pl. *-mān*, *-tān*, *-yān* (BLAU 1980: 55).

²⁶ The dialects relevant here belong to MacKenzie’s “Group 1” dialects. CABOLOV (1978: 27) assumes that these clitics may have been present in more Kurdish varieties in an earlier period. He also assumes a 1sg. clitic *-ō* for that earlier system.

²⁷ MACKENZIE (1961: 76) remarks *-u* / *-w* “is occasionally heard” in Sulaimaniya and Warmawa, adding that *-o* has been noted for the Sinai dialect in Mukri.

²⁸ Cf. CABOLOV (1978: 26), who derives the 3sg. clitic “< Av. *hīm*, *hē*”.

²⁹ “The Piž[dar]., Muk[ri]., and. less commonly, Sor[an]. forms Pl. 1 *-in*, Pl. 2 *-ū* alternate freely with the general forms *-mān*, *-tān*” (MACKENZIE 1961: 77).

³⁰ CABOLOV (1978: 27, giving the form OIr. *-nah*), MACKENZIE (1978: 502, deriving the clitic from the OIr. clitic stem *-na-*).

³¹ MACKENZIE (1978: 502, deriving the clitic from the OIr. clitic stem *-wa-*), while CABOLOV (1978: 26) rather unconvincingly suggests a derivation from the (unattested) acc. of the full pronoun (Av. “*yūšma-*”).

³² The same change is seen in Zazaki *çor* (< *čewr) “four”, *çewres* “forty” (SELCAN 1998: 587). Note that the development of OIr. *θw in the numeral “four” and the pronominal clitic of the 2sg. may have been different from the development of the cluster in other contexts (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2004).

³³ Thus RASTORGUEVA / MOLČANOVA (1981: 109) for Middle Persian *-ē(h)*.

*-*tai*, *-*šai* give -*t*, -*š*, respectively, in otherwise rather closely related New Ir. languages.

One could assume that -*h*- was lost in a sequence OIr. **V+-hai* (with *V = a* in most instances) and the vowels were contracted. This would surely be a possibility for Sorani, but it would not be particularly likely for other Ir. varieties that show -*ī* for the 3rd singular. For instance, the Balochi 3sg. clitics (see Table 9) include a form -*ī*, but in contrast to what was suggested by the isogloss in Table 3, -*ī* is not a regular outcome of OIr. *-*ahya*, *-*ahai* or *-*ayahi*. Such sequences yield Balochi -*ē* or -*ay* in the verbal ending of the 2sg. and other contexts.³⁴

An alternative explanation may be seen in the derivation of the 3sg. -*ī* from one of the OIr. acc. clitics, maybe OIr. *-(*h*)*īm*. Here, the word-final consonant might perhaps have prevented the syllable from being lost altogether, so that the -*ī* could have been preserved. If this is correct for Balochi, it might be an alternative assumption also for the derivation of -*ī* in Sorani and some other WIr. varieties (e.g. Harzandi, Abyanei and Bashkardi, which will be discussed in Section III).

Table 9. Pronominal clitics in Balochi.

		forms ³⁵	derivation
sg.	1st	- <i>um</i>	< OIr. gen./dat. *- <i>mai</i> (and/or acc. *- <i>mā</i>)
		- <i>un</i> , - <i>ā</i> , - <i>ū</i>	← verb? ³⁶
	2nd	- <i>it</i>	< OIr. gen./dat. *- <i>tai</i>
		- <i>ē</i>	← verb?
	3rd	- <i>iš</i>	< OIr. gen./dat. *- <i>šai</i> (and/or acc. *- <i>šim</i>)
		- <i>ī</i>	< OIr. acc. *-(<i>h</i>) <i>īm</i> ?
- <i>ē</i>		< OIr. gen./dat. *- <i>hai</i> , or ← demonstrative pronoun <i>ē</i> (< *- <i>ahya</i>)? ³⁷	
pl.	1st	- <i>in</i>	< OIr. gen./dat. *- <i>nah</i> and/or acc. *- <i>nāh</i> ³⁸
		- <i>ēn</i> , - <i>ā</i> , - <i>ū</i>	← verb?
	2nd	- <i>ō</i>	< OIr. gen./dat. *- <i>wah</i> (and/or acc. *- <i>wāh</i> ?) ³⁸
		- <i>iš</i>	← 3rd pl.?
	3rd	- <i>iš</i>	< OIr. gen./dat. *- <i>šām</i> and/or acc. *-(<i>h</i>) <i>iš</i> , *- <i>šiš</i> or *- <i>šim</i> ? ³⁹
		- <i>ēš</i>	← demonstrative pronoun <i>ēš</i> (< *- <i>aišām</i>)? ³⁷
		- <i>ē</i>	← 3rd sg.?

³⁴ Pace MACKENZIE (1961a: 83), who derives Bal. -*ī* from OIr. *-*hai* (cf. KORN 2005a: 107–108). The -*ī* used as gen. ending on personal names in some Western Bal. dialects, on some pronouns, and on the gen.pl. ending -*ānī* is likely to be the adjective suffix -*ī*, and is thus not a case of *-*ahya* > *-*ī* (cf. KORN 2005b: 292–294). Cases of *ē* > *ī* do occur in Balochi (cf. KORN 2005a: 199–200), but these are usually limited to a certain source or subdialect, and such a distribution does not apply to the 3sg. clitic -*ī*, which is used in all three main dialect groups (while the distribution of the variant -*ē* is more limited).

³⁵ GRIERSON (1921: 344), GILBERTSON (1923: 71, 117–118), FARRELL (1990: 54), NAWATA (1981: 13), BARKER / MENGAL (1969/I: 243–244), BARANZEHI (2003: 86), YÜSEFYÂN (1992: 54), in some cases adjusted to phonemic notation. The Balochi dialects diverge considerably as far as the actual use of the clitics is concerned; in some of them only the 3rd person is common.

³⁶ Cf. LECOQ (1989a: 257): “emprunté aux désinences?”

³⁷ The 3sg. clitic -*ē* might go back to OIr. *-*hai* (thus agreeing with the isogloss in Table 3). However, if the 3pl. clitic is to be derived from the OIr. demonstrative gen.pl. *-*aišām* (Av. *aēšāqm*, OInd. *ešām*, HOFFMANN / FORSSMAN 1996: 168–168), the derivation of -*ē* from OIr. *-*ahya* (Av. *ahiiā* etc., OInd. *asyā*), the gen.sg. of the same demonstrative, is an alternative possibility. This solution has been suggested for Balochi, Parachi and Ormuri by LECOQ (1989a: 257), who also derives the 1sg. and 2sg. clitics of the Ir. varieties of the “Hyrcanian” group from the OIr. full pronouns (cf. Table 4) while for the other groups (including NP and Kurdish), he agrees with the communis opinio in the derivation from the OIr. gen./dat. clitics.

If the Sorani 2sg. and one variety of the 3sg. clitic in several WIr. varieties go back to OIr. accusatives, one might reconsider the possibility that the 1sg. clitic also goes back to the OIr. acc. **-mā*: both this form and **-mai* would give New Ir. *-m* anyway; i.e. the acc. and the gen./dat. coalesced, resulting in a general oblique, parallel to the nouns (see Table 5). The same might also apply to the 3sg. clitic *-š*, which is likely to be the reflex of both the OIr. gen./dat. **-šai* and the acc. **-šim* (the *ruki* variant of **(h)im*).⁴⁰

III. The plural clitics

At this point, it is worthwhile looking at the plural forms. In Persian, the plural clitics are based on the singular ones by way of adding the pluralizing *-ān* (Table 1). The overwhelming majority of New Ir. varieties have this type of plural clitics, showing *-ān* in various modifications, very often with labialization of the vowel to *-ōn* or *-ūn* (as in Harzandi and North Bashkardi discussed below) and/or with loss of the nasal (and some with further developments). However, none of the Balochi plural clitics show this suffix (see Table 9); neither do all the Sorani ones (Table 8).⁴¹ Both languages have a 1pl. and 2pl. variant that is likely to go back to the OIr. gen./dat. clitics 1pl. **-nah*, 2pl. **-wah*. In the 1pl., a derivation from the OIr. acc. **-nāh* seems equally possible, and the assumption of a coalescence of both, parallel to the one suggested for some sg. clitics in the preceding paragraph, appears even more likely. It is somewhat less clear whether the 2pl. acc. **-wāh* would have given *ū* or *ō* in Sorani and Balochi, respectively. On the other hand, the gen./dat. form could have developed into a general oblique **-wah* in the predecessors of both languages as it did in Young Avestan (cf. footnote 24). If so, a general oblique **-nah* is likely for the 1pl. as well.

Another noteworthy example of a plural clitic not based on the singular one is the 3pl. in the Tati dialect of Harzand (Table 10).

Table 10. Pronominal clitics in Harzandi Tati.⁴²

		agent clitic	derivation	other functions	derivation
sg.	1st	<i>-ma</i>	< gen./dat. <i>*-mai</i> (and/or acc. <i>*-mā</i>)	<i>-im</i>	\bar{i} + <i>*-mai</i> etc.
	2nd	<i>-la</i>	< gen./dat. <i>*-tai</i> ⁴³	<i>-ir</i>	
	3rd	<i>-ja</i>	< gen./dat. <i>*-šai</i> (and/or acc. <i>*-šim</i>) ⁴⁴	<i>-i</i>	< OIr. acc. <i>*-(h)im</i> ?
pl.	1st	<i>-muna</i>	← sg. + <i>-ān</i>	<i>-mun</i>	← sg. + <i>-ān</i>
	2nd	<i>-luna</i>		<i>-lun</i>	
	3rd	<i>-juna</i>		<i>-i</i>	(! not † <i>-iun</i> or † <i>-jun</i>); cf. Av. <i>*-(h)im</i>

³⁸ Cf. LECOQ (1989a: 257), who derives the 1pl. and 2pl. clitics of the Ir. varieties of the “Hyrcanian” group (see footnote 37) from OIr. **-nah*, **-wah*, which are also noted as the protoforms for the Bal. clitics by WINDFUHR (1989: 259).

³⁹ See Section III.

⁴⁰ Thus SIMS-WILLIAMS (1996: 161) for Middle Persian and Sogdian. HORN (1901: 119) considers this possibility for the 1sg. and 3sg. in NP.

⁴¹ The languages mentioned in this section include all WIr. varieties known to me whose pl. clitics are not based on the sg. ones. Minor variations like the ones seen in Vafsi (1sg. *-om* / *-im* vs. 1pl. *-oan* < **-owan* < **-Vmān*) or Xunsari (2sg. *-t/d* vs. 2pl. *-dun*) are not discussed here.

⁴² Forms from LECOQ (1989b: 302–303).

⁴³ *l* and *r* are the regular results of OIr. intervocalic *t* in Tati varieties (cf. GEIGER 1901: 355), cf. *vör* “wind”, *žar* “struck”, *jeru* “separate”, *kerom* “which” (all examples from YARSHATER 1989: 242, in the orthography used there).

Harzandi has two sets of clitics: one for agents of ergative constructions, the other for the remaining oblique functions. The former set is characterized by showing an element *-a* throughout. In the second series, the 3pl. object clitic is *-i* in a remarkably asymmetrical system with the other pl. persons showing the pluralizing suffix (1pl. *-mun*, 2pl. *-lun*). If the 3sg. goes back to OIr. **-(h)īm* in some NIr. varieties, as suggested in Section II, the Harzandi 3pl. *-i* might perhaps be linked to OIr. **-(h)īm* as well, since *-īm* is used for both singular and plural in Vedic. This could perhaps also have applied to the OIr. variety to which Harzandi goes back.⁴⁵

There is a similar situation in the central plateau dialect Abyanei (Table 11).

		forms ⁴⁶	derivation
sg.	1st	<i>-m</i>	< OIr. gen./dat. <i>*-mai</i> (and/or acc. <i>*-mā</i>)
	2nd	<i>-d</i>	< OIr. gen./dat. <i>*-tai</i>
	3rd	<i>-i, -y</i>	< OIr. acc. <i>*-(h)īm</i> ?
pl.	1st	<i>-mi</i>	← sg. + <i>-ān</i>
	2nd	<i>-yi</i>	
	3rd	<i>-š(i)</i>	< OIr. gen./dat. <i>*šām</i> (and/or acc. <i>*-šāš</i> or <i>*-(h)īš</i>)?

Abyanei shows a contrast between the obligatory *-i* (corresponding to *-ān* in this variety)⁴⁷ in the 1pl. *-mi* and the 2pl. *-yi*, while the *-i* is optional in the 3pl. *-š(i)*. More importantly, the 3pl. is not derived from the 3sg. either. This might indicate that the 3pl. clitic has an origin other than *-š* plus *-ān*,⁴⁸ perhaps a form as seen in OP gen./dat.pl. *-šām* or the acc.pl. *-šāš* or OIr. **-(h)īš*. The *-i* may then have been optionally added in analogy with the other pl. persons.

The Bashkardi varieties are also interesting in this context, as is Koroshi, a Balochi dialect spoken in Fars province (Table 12).

		North Bashkardi	South Bashkardi	Koroshi
sg.	1st			<i>-(o)m</i>
	2nd			<i>-(e)t</i>
	3rd		<i>-i, -e, -h</i>	<i>-i</i>
pl.	1st	<i>-mōn/-mūn</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>-en</i>
	2nd	<i>-tōn/-tūn</i>	<i>-o(x)</i>	<i>-u</i>
	3rd	<i>-šōn/-šūn</i>	<i>-(e)š</i>	<i>-eš</i>

⁴⁴ *ǰ* is likely to have developed from *š* via *ž*; note that even OIr. *ž* yields *ǰ* in some North-Western Ir. varieties, e.g. *huž, hūǰ* “you (pl.)” vs. Av. *yūžəm* in some Semnani varieties (MORGENSTIERNE 1960: 103).

⁴⁵ A derivation from the Av. acc. n. *-ī* seems less plausible, as a vowel alone is less likely to be preserved.

⁴⁶ LECOQ (1989c: 318).

⁴⁷ Abyanei *-i* probably developed from *-ān* via *-ūn* and *-ū* > *-i*.

⁴⁸ If the 3pl. *-š(i)* were borrowed from Persian *-šān*, one would expect a 2pl. *-ti* (or *-di*, cf. the 2sg. *-d*) as well. Such a system is indeed shown by Naini, which has (whether originally or borrowed) sg. *-m, -t, -š*; pl. *-mi, -ti, -ši* (LECOQ 1989c: 322).

⁴⁹ SKJÆRVØ (1989: 366). South Bashkardi shows a preservation of OIr. postvocalic voiceless stops (cf. SKJÆRVØ 1989: 366), which otherwise within Western Iranian is only seen in Balochi.

⁵⁰ SALĀMĪ (2005: 44). The data given by MAHAMEDĪ 1979 differ a bit from these: 1sg. *-əm*, 2sg. *-ət*; 1pl. *-ən* (p. 287), 2pl. *-ət* (sic) (pp. 287, 288, 295) and *-o* (quoted twice on p. 296), 3pl. *-əš* (p. 287). For *-ə*-he also variously notes *-e-* (pp. 295, 296 bottom). EMĀDĪ 2005 notes two slightly different sets, one identical with the one in Table 12 (EMĀDĪ 2005: 46, 50, 72), and another one (for “accusative” and “complement” uses, EMĀDĪ 2005: 45, 49) with 1sg. *-am*, 2sg. *-at*, 3sg. *-ay*; 1pl. *-ayn*, 2pl. *-ow*, 3pl. *-aš*.

The 3sg. clitics of North Bashkardi include a variant *-i*, while the pl. is *-šōn* or *-šūn*, mirroring the NP type. The fact that the North Bashkardi 3pl. clitic does not match its 3sg. may hint at the possibility that the entire pl. series has been modelled on Persian and that North Bashkardi previously had a system like the one seen in South Bashkardi and Koroshi.

The pl. series of South Bashkardi and Koroshi correspond to the pl. clitics listed for Balochi in Table 9 (1pl. *-in*, 2pl. *-ō*, 3pl. *-iš*).⁵¹ They are likely to go back to OIr. 1pl. **-nah*, 2pl. **-wah*, and one of the clitics discussed for the 3pl. in Abyanei above.

It is striking that all the WIr. varieties whose plural clitics are not based on the singular (listed in Table 13) have 3sg. clitics *-ī*, sometimes also *-ē*, but that none of these variants has only *-š*.⁵²

	pl. clitics \neq sg. + <i>-ān</i> :	3rd sg. clitic
Sorani dialects (Table 8):	1pl.–2pl.	<i>-ī</i> , <i>-ē</i>
Harzandi, Abyanei (Tables 10, 11):	3pl.	<i>-ī</i>
Koroshi (Table 12):		<i>-i</i>
South Bashkardi (Table 11):	1pl.–3pl.	<i>-i</i> , <i>-e</i> , <i>-h</i>
Balochi (Table 9):		<i>-ī</i> , <i>-ē</i> , <i>-iš</i>

IV. Conclusion

Summing up the discussion above, Table 14 groups New WIr. varieties according to the 2sg., 3sg., and 3pl. pronominal clitics.

2sg.	< OIr. acc. <i>*-θwā</i> <i>-u</i> in Sorani dialects	< OIr. gen./dat. <i>*-tai</i> <i>-(V)t</i> (etc.) in remaining New Western Iranian	
3sg.	< OIr. acc. <i>*-(h)īm</i> probably: <i>-ī</i> in Balochi, Koroshi, Bashkardi; maybe: <i>-ī</i> in Sorani, Harzandi, Abyanei	< OIr. gen./dat. <i>*-hai</i> <i>-ē</i> in Sorani, Balochi, Bashkardi (and others)	< OIr. gen./dat. <i>*-šai</i> and/or acc. <i>*-šim</i> <i>-ja</i> in Harzandi, <i>-h</i> in Bashkardi; <i>-(V)š</i> in Balochi, New Persian and remaining New Western Ir.
3pl.	< OIr. acc. <i>*-(h)īm</i> ? <i>-i</i> in Harzandi	< OIr. acc. <i>*-(h)īš</i> , <i>*-šīš</i> and/or gen./dat. <i>*-šām</i> <i>-(i)š</i> in Balochi, Koroshi, South Bashkardi; Abyanei <i>-š(i)</i>	sg. + <i>-ān</i> → pl. remaining New Western Iranian

The first noteworthy point is that in contrast to all other New WIr. varieties, some Sorani dialects appear to have a 2sg. clitic which goes back to the OIr. accusative one. Sorani dialects might also show a 3sg. clitic deriving from the OIr. accusative. Here, it is joined by several other varieties, among them Balochi, Koroshi, and

⁵¹ This assumption would be similar to the one made by Cabolov for Kurdish (see footnote 26).

⁵² The reverse does not apply: there are New Ir. varieties with 3sg. clitic *-ī* whose pl. clitics are built on the singular, among these Standard Sorani (see footnote 25) and several Fars dialects (cf. SALĀMĪ 2004: 43, 198ff.).

South Bashkardi, for which a derivation from something like OIr. *-(h)īm appears even more probable than for Sorani.

As far as the 3pl. clitic of the latter three varieties is concerned, it is not quite clear which OIr. form they go back to: it could be either gen./dat. *-šām or acc. *-(h)īš,⁵³ *-šīš, *-šīm, from which -š might have been preserved. Derivations of the 3sg. and the 3pl. clitic from an OIr. acc. clitic would of course mutually support each other. The possibility of a coalescence of several forms (see the end of Section II) must also be kept in mind.

A derivation of the 3pl. clitic from *-šīm would show that the 3rd person clitics may be unmarked for number as they are in Vedic. This unmarkedness may also be present in the 3pl. -i in Harzandi if it derives from OIr. *-(h)īm, as does the 3rd singular.

While one Ir. variety seen in isolation does not seem to say much, all the varieties taken together present an interesting picture and, as a group, preserve a remarkable variety of OIr. pronominal clitics, also indicating that it is not only the 3sg. clitic which may be relevant for the grouping of Western Iranian. Indeed, it seems that not even the WIr. 3sg. clitics quite fit into the pattern outlined by Table 3: several varieties show more than one clitic, and there are more than two options that they could choose from.

The question remains what the distribution shown in Table 14 implies for a grouping of WIr. varieties. As discussed in KORN 2003, shared innovations would be particularly significant for such a grouping, while shared archaisms could be due to chance. However, contrary to isoglosses that have been used for grouping Ir. varieties according to phonological criteria, the parallel features observed here cannot be sorted into shared archaisms and shared innovations.

There is indeed a noteworthy innovation, viz. the formation of the plural clitics by the agglutinative method of suffixing *-ān*, originally the ending of the oblique plural,⁵⁴ to the appropriate form of the sg. clitic. Many New WIr. languages share this pattern with New Persian. However, it seems difficult or even impossible to exclude the possibility that most (if not all) New WIr. languages which have such plural clitics (including modifications like *-ān* > *-ūn* etc.) can have adopted them from Middle or New Persian in the way assumed for North Bashkardi in Section III above. On the other hand, the fact that Parthian also has such plural clitics may date the spreading of the innovation to a stage preceding Middle Iranian, all the more since the innovation stretches beyond Western Iranian and includes Bactrian⁵⁵ and Sogdian (see Table 6). There seems to be no way to decide whether the presence of such plural clitics in a given New Ir. variety indicates whether they are modelled on the Persian type or inherited from an earlier stage of Western Iranian. So there is no certain instance of a common innovation that would point to a particularly close relationship among the languages that show such pl. clitics.

Conversely, with regard to the extent of the presence of pl. clitics of the form:

⁵³ A derivation of the 3pl. clitic from OIr. *-hīš is assumed by WINDFUHR (1989: 259).

⁵⁴ Note that the affixing of *-ān* in the pl. clitics is compatible both with an obl.pl. function of the suffix (as in early Middle Iranian, see Table 5) and with a general pl. marking function.

⁵⁵ For the forms of the Bactrian clitics, see GHOLAMI in this volume.

sg. + *-ān*, the preserved reflexes of the OIr. inflectional (not agglutinative) pl. clitics in Koroshi, South Bashkardi, Balochi, Sorani dialects, and maybe also Harzandi and Abyanei, are a shared archaism that is all the more remarkable. Indeed, were it not for New Ir. languages like these, the MP and Parthian clitics would lead one to believe that the innovation of the pattern 1sg. *-m* + *-ān* → 1pl. *-mān* etc. was generalized in Middle Western Iranian, and the only remnant of an OIr. pl. clitic is the MP 1pl. *-n*. While it is questionable whether a shared archaism says anything about the grouping of languages, it is worth noting that such pl. clitics are shared by Balochi, Koroshi, and South Bashkardi, which seem to have a particularly close relationship anyway, and furthermore by one variety each of Tati and the central plateau dialects, and some Sorani dialects.

So Tables 13 and 14 summarize the distribution of clitics in Western Iranian and in this sense attempt to revise Table 3 as far as the distribution of clitics is concerned. However, the results at the same time challenge the assumption that the distribution of the 3sg. clitics (or any pronominal clitics) in New WIr. languages allows conclusions on the grouping of Western Iranian.

Abbreviations

1sg.	1st sg. (other persons accordingly)
abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
Av.	Avestan
Bal.	Balochi
dat.	dative
f.	feminine
gen.	genitive
Ir.	Iranian
m.	masculine
MP	Middle Persian
n.	neuter
NP	New Persian
OAv.	Old Avestan
obl.	oblique case
OInd.	Old Indic
OIr.	Old Iranian
OP	Old Persian
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
pl.	plural
sg.	singular
V	any vowel
WIr.	Western Iranian
YAv.	Young Avestan

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The Position of the Pamir Languages within East Iranian

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Abstract

The Pamir languages are a group of East Iranian languages which are linguistically quite diverse and cannot be traced back to a common ancestor. The term “Pamir languages” is based on their geographical position rather than on their genetic closeness. Their relation to other East Iranian languages is rarely studied. In this context the position of Yaghnobi, which is usually mostly compared with the Middle Iranian Sogdian language, might be of some interest. But Sogdian also shows traits found in some of the Pamir languages. Therefore it might be interesting to compare some phonological and morphological characteristics of individual Modern East Iranian and East Middle Iranian languages in order to find out if there are specific relations between them – and also to see if particular developments are innovations characteristic of Modern East Iranian or have already occurred in Middle Iranian.

1. Introduction

The classification of some of the Iranian languages still raises questions and cannot be said to have been completely resolved. The criteria for their affiliation to one group or another do not seem to be clear and agreed upon in every respect. As an especially striking example, one can mention Ormuri and Parachi, two Iranian languages spoken in Afghanistan, which have been classified as belonging to completely different branches of the Iranian languages despite usually being regarded as “South East Iranian”.¹

The term “South East Iranian” is not always used for these two languages alone. Sometimes Pashto and the Pamir languages are also classified as South East Iranian, whereas Ossetic and Yaghnobi are described as North East Iranian languages.² Even within East Iranian (broadly defined) one group is quite diverse in itself. The Pamir languages comprise about 15 different modern East Iranian languages spoken in the frontier area of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and China.³ It was soon found out that the languages of the so-called Shughni-Roshani group

¹ After they were first held to be West Iranian by GRIERSON 1918: 49–52, a similar view was later advanced by other scholars like ORANSKIJ 1979a: 81–121, and EFIMOV 1986. But MORGENSTIERNE 1926: 28ff., who first studied these languages in detail, attributed them to the Eastern branch of the Iranian languages, in spite of a number of phonological characteristics that they share with West Iranian. He defined a South-East Iranian sub-group consisting of Ormuri and Parachi. Others, like KIEFFER 1989: 451ff., follow this classification in their grammatical descriptions. See also SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650.

² E.g. by Soviet scholars, in *Osnovy*; cf. also the genealogical tree of the Iranian languages at the site of the Institute of Indo-European Studies, University of Frankfurt, <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/idg/iran/iranstam.htm>

³ Their genetic relations were first extensively studied by MORGENSTIERNE 1938 and later, in more detail, by Russian scholars like SOKOLOVA 1967, 1973, PAHALINA 1969, 1983 and ÈDEL'MAN 1987a.

are closely related to Yazghulami and Sarikoli, whereas languages like Munji and Yidgha, or Wakhi seem to be more isolated. Although the genetic relations among the Pamir languages are not yet understood in full detail, it can be said that it is not possible to trace all of them back to a single common ancestor that would be unique to this group.⁴

Table 1. Genetic relations of the Pamir languages.⁵

Shughni-Yazghulami group							
Shughni group				Yazghulami	Ishkashmi	Munji	Wakhi
Shughni	Roshani	Bartangi	Sarikoli				
Badzh.	Xufi	Roshorvi					
					Zebaki	Yidgha	
					Sanglechi		

Thus, the term “Pamir languages” is based on their geographical position rather than on their genetic proximity, and they have also been called a “Sprachbund” (linguistic area), which seems to be more appropriate.⁶ Contrary to the “Balkan languages”, which belong to various branches of Indo-European and are therefore more obviously defined as a linguistic area, a *sprachbund* of languages from one branch of a language family can easily be mistaken for a genetically closely related unit. For instance, the frequent use of the term “Pamir dialects” might create the impression of a dialect continuum with only small divergences.

Another language belonging to the Eastern branch of the Iranian languages is Yaghnobi. Its closeness to the Middle Iranian Sogdian language has often been pointed out, and when first studied it was even considered to be a kind of modern successor of Sogdian.⁷ Others believe that a direct derivation of Yaghnobi from Sogdian is not possible because of a number of divergences in the phonology and morphology of these languages. One of the main arguments is the so-called Rhythmic Law, which shaped the phonological development of Sogdian but did not have an effect on the predecessor of the Yaghnobi language.⁸ Yaghnobi is usually described as deriving from a dialect similar to Sogdian.⁹ When one compares Yaghnobi with the Pamir languages, and some of the other East Middle Iranian languages, one can find a considerable number of similar phonological and morphological developments and isoglosses. Still, Yaghnobi is rarely compared with the Pamir languages.

All the Modern East Iranian languages (except Ossetic) contain many loanwords from Tajik or Dari, and their original vocabularies are very often imperfectly documented. Moreover, they all have dialects, which are not well studied and may show a wide range of lexical variation. One further important point is that in the study of these relatively diverse languages, similar sound changes – when viewed in isolation

⁴ MORGENSTIERNE 1938: XVIII; STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1982: 3; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 651. Occasionally some of the languages are not classified as “Pamir” and are treated separately, e.g. Munji and Yidgha by PAYNE 1989a, as they are spoken outside the Pamir region.

⁵ This presentation of the Shughni-Yazghulami group follows SOKOLOVA 1967: 124.

⁶ GRJUNBERG 1980.

⁷ E.g. ORANSKIJ 1963: 164.

⁸ E.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989: 165.

⁹ E.g. HROMOV 1987: 645.

– cannot be considered proof of common ancestry in every case.¹⁰ There are a number of phonological and morphological characteristics which are commonly said to be typical of the East Iranian languages, although no universal traits distinguishing East Iranian from West Iranian have been found so far.¹¹ Below some phonological and morphological characteristics of the East Middle Iranian and Modern East Iranian will be discussed in order to see if some new insights into their genetic relations can be found.

2. Phonological characteristics

2.1 Old Iranian word-initial *č-

In most East Iranian languages Old Iranian *č was depalatalized and became *ts*,¹² as in Chorasmian, Bactrian, most of the Pamir languages, and Ossetic. In Khotanese it was depalatalized before non-palatals.¹³ Only Sogdian did not take part in the development. Here *č was preserved.¹⁴ Among the Modern East Iranian languages č was preserved in Parachi¹⁵ and Yaghnobi,¹⁶ and word-initially in Yazghulami and Munji.¹⁷

Yaghn.	Shughni ¹⁹	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Par.	Pashto	Oss.
(<i>tufor</i>)	<i>cavūr</i> , <i>cavōr</i>	<i>cavur</i>	<i>čer</i>	<i>čɤfur</i>	<i>čfir</i> , <i>čfür</i>	<i>cəbɤr</i>	<i>čōr</i> ²⁰ Orm. <i>cār</i>	<i>calor</i>	<i>cyppar</i> / <i>cuppar</i>
<i>čo</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>či</i>	<i>ce</i>	Yidgha <i>ce</i>	<i>cə</i>	Par. <i>če</i> , Orm. <i>ca</i>	<i>cə</i>	<i>cy</i>
		Bactr.	Chor.	Sogd.		Khot.			
		σoφapο [(t)sufar]	<i>čʰr</i> [tsafār]	<i>čβʰr</i> , <i>čfʰr</i> , <i>čʰr</i> [ča(t)fār]	<i>tcohaurā</i> (<i>kye</i> , <i>ci</i> etc.)				
		σα-	<i>c</i> - [ts-]	<i>c</i> '- [č-]					

¹⁰ One example may illustrate the dilemma: Middle Iranian Khotanese and Modern Wakhi share some remarkable phonological features, as was first described by MORGENSTIERNE 1975: 432f. Unlike in many other Ir. languages, Proto-Indo-European *k₁ does not develop into *sp*, but into *ś* or *š*. Thus, in Khotanese the word for “horse”, Persian *asp*, is *aśśa*, and in Wakhi *yaš*. But this does not mean that Wakhi can be derived directly from Khotanese or that it is possible to trace both languages back to a common ancestor. This becomes clear from some other developments: in some cases Middle Iranian Khotanese shows a more advanced development than Modern Iranian Wakhi (see SKJÆRVØ 1989a: 375). First, intervocalic stops, which have been lost in Khotanese, are still preserved in Wakhi, like in the word for “foot”, Khotanese *pāa*- and Wakhi *pyd* < Old Iranian *pāda-. Moreover, the Wakhi outcome of Old Iranian word-internal *θr (viz., *tr*) cannot be derived from Khotanese (-r), see Section 2.5.2.

¹¹ Pace SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650f., who lists a number of words which are held to be exclusively East Iranian. Most of these can also be found in West Iranian languages, e.g. Balochi *kutik* “dog” (see KORN 2005: 188, note 56) or Bal. *gar* “flank of a hill, abyss” (KORN 2005: 150).

¹² SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650.

¹³ EMMERICK 1989: 213.

¹⁴ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a: 168.

¹⁵ MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 34; EFIMOV 1997: 450f.

¹⁶ HROMOV 1987: 656; LIVŠIČ/HROMOV 1981: 450. For the special development of the numeral “4” in Yaghnobi, where *č develops to *t*-, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2004: 541f.

¹⁷ GRJUNBERG 1987: 174; EDEL'MAN 1987b: 370.

¹⁸ Forms from East Middle Iranian languages are given to illustrate specific relations between some of them and certain Modern East Iranian languages. The forms also show whether the discussed developments are innovations characteristic of Modern East Iranian or already occurred in Middle Iranian.

¹⁹ “Shughni” in the tables stands for the whole Shughni group.

²⁰ For Ormuri and Parachi here the transcription used by KIEFFER and EFIMOV is used, which in some respects differs from that of MORGENSTIERNE.

2.2 Word-initial voiced stops

A further characteristic of most East Iranian languages is the development of initial voiced stops into fricatives. In Khotanese *g- remains unchanged, which is indicated by the spelling gg- as in *ggara-* “mountain”, whereas the outcome of OIr. *b-, *d- is spelt *b-* and *d-*, which are mostly interpreted as fricatives.²¹

Both Yaghnobi and Ishkashmi as well as Zebaki and Sanglechi share the development of *d-. The stop seems to have been preserved, but *d* has been explained as a reverse development from *δ.²² In Bactrian, Munji, Yidgha, and Pashto, Old Iranian *d became *l* – as well as in some Sogdian dialects.²³ The development to *l* may of course have occurred independently and at different periods.²⁴ Ossetic is divergent: *b- and *d- remain unchanged; *g- becomes *γ-* in Digor and then develops into *q-* in Iron.²⁵ In Parachi and Ormuri initial voiced stops are preserved, e.g. Par. *dōs*, Orm. *das* “ten”; Par. *gir* “stone”; Orm. *girī* “mountain”; Par. *byā* “brother”; Orm. *bēš* “rope” < *bastrā-.²⁶

Table 3. Word-initial voiced stops:
*band- “to bind”; *dasa- “ten”; *gari- “mountain”.

	Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Pashto	Oss.
*b-	<i>vant-</i> , <i>vand-</i>	<i>vīnd-</i>	<i>vind-</i>	<i>van(d)-</i>	<i>vond-</i>	<i>vond-</i>	<i>vand-</i>	<i>wandanai</i> “rope”	<i>bæddyn /</i> <i>bæddun</i>
*d-	<i>das</i>	<i>δīs, δus, δos</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>δūs</i>	<i>dos</i>	<i>Yidgha los</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>las</i>	<i>dæs</i>
*g-	<i>γar</i>	<i>žīr, žēr</i> “stone”	<i>žer</i>	<i>γar,</i> <i>γarčug</i>	– <i>γu</i> “cow”	<i>γār</i>	<i>γar</i>	<i>γar</i>	<i>qarm / γarm</i> “warm”
		Chor.		Sogdian		Bactrian	Khotanese		
*b-		<i>βrˀd</i>		<i>βrˀt</i>		<i>βpaδo</i>	<i>brātar-</i> [<i>brādar-</i>]		
*d-		<i>δys</i>		<i>δs(ˀ)</i>		<i>λασο</i>	<i>daso</i> [<i>δaso</i>]		
*g-		<i>γˀw</i> “cow”		<i>γr-</i>		<i>γapo</i>	<i>ggara-</i> [<i>gara-</i>]		

2.3 Voicing of *xt and *ft

In most East Middle Iranian languages the consonant clusters *xt and *ft are voiced, as in Sogdian, Bactrian or Chorasmian.²⁷ In Khotanese they are simplified.²⁸

Table 4. Development of Old Iranian *xt:
*duxtar- “daughter”; *taxta- “gone away”.

Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Par.	Pashto	Oss.
			<i>δoyd</i>	<i>wūδūy(d),</i> Sangl. <i>wudəyδ</i>	<i>ləyda,</i> <i>Yidgha</i> <i>luγdo</i>	<i>δəγd</i>	<i>dot;</i> Orm. <i>dua,</i> <i>duka</i>	<i>lur</i>	I. (<i>xo</i>) <i>dyγd</i>
<i>uxta</i> “went out”	<i>tūyδ-</i>	<i>təyδ-</i>	<i>tūyδ-</i>	<i>tūyδ-</i>		<i>taγd-</i>		<i>tə, təy</i>	<i>taγd</i>
		Bactr.	Sogd.	Chor.	Khot.				
		<i>λoyδo</i>	<i>δwγt(ˀ), δγwt</i>	<i>δγd</i>	<i>dūta, dūva</i>				

²¹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a: 168.

²² PAYNE 1989b: 420. MÖRGENSTIERNE 1938: 303 explains the reversal as a result of Persian influence in Sanglechi and Ishkashmi.

²³ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a: 168; LIVSHITZ 1970: 262.

²⁴ SKJÆRVØ 1989a: 376.

²⁵ ISAEV 1987: 568.

²⁶ MÖRGENSTIERNE 1929: 34, 329; KIEFFER 1989: 453.

²⁷ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a: 167. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650 describes the Sogdian clusters as partly voiced to *γt* and *βt*, though, whereas GHARIB 1995: 21, 146 and LIVŠIĆ/HROMOV 1981: 395f., 402 consider them to be voiced.

²⁸ EMMERICK 1989: 215, where more examples can be found; *xt may develop into /dl/, /ɣ/, /l/ or /u/.

In Pashto **xt* may be reduced to *y* or zero,²⁹ whereas **ft* may result in *w* or *wd*, as in *owə* “seven” or *tawda* “warmed” < **tafta*-.³⁰ In Parachi *x* is lost, as in *dot* “daughter” or *p’arāt*- “to sell”, which is derived from **parā-waxta*- by MORGENSTIERNE.³¹ For Ormuri he concludes that *x* and *f* were assimilated early and the cluster resulted in *t*, which is lost, as e.g. in *duka*, *dua* “daughter” or *ho*, *wo* “seven”.³² In Yaghnobi **xt* is represented as such, and is not voiced; **ft* is voiced only in one dialect.³³

Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Pashto	Par.	Oss.
<i>af̄t</i> (W), <i>avd</i> (E) <i>uf̄ta</i> “slept” < <i>*hufta</i> -	(<i>w</i>) <i>ūvd</i>	<i>ɣvd</i>	<i>uvd</i>	<i>uvd</i>	<i>ovda</i>	<i>ɣtb</i>	<i>owə</i>	<i>hōr</i> ; Orm. <i>ho</i> , <i>wo</i>	<i>avd</i>
Sogd.	Chor.	Khot.	Bactr.						
<i>βr</i>	<i>βd</i>	<i>hauda</i>	<i>πιδοροβδο</i> “received” < <i>*pati-grfta</i> -						

2.4 Old Iranian **θ*

The preservation of the phoneme **θ* is seen as one of the characteristics of the East Iranian languages.³⁴ The phoneme **θ* is preserved in Sogdian and Chorasmian.³⁵ In Khotanese it is preserved in initial position only³⁶ while it becomes *h* in intervocalic position, as in *ggāha*- “song” < Old Iranian **gāθa*-.³⁷ In Bactrian **θ* becomes *h*, e.g. in *ραυοβαναο* “highway robbery” (< **rāθa-pāna*-).³⁸ Wakhi, the Shughni group, Sarikoli, and Yazghulami preserve *θ*, whereas the development in Munji is different. Here the fricative yields *š*.³⁹ In Yaghnobi it became *-t* in one dialect, *-s* in the other.⁴⁰ In Ossetic **θ* became *t* in both dialects,⁴¹ while it develops into *l* in Pashto.⁴² In Ishkashmi **θ* becomes *s*, as in *sav*- “to burn” < **θav*-.⁴³ In Sanglechi it usually results in *t*, as in *tāv*- “to

²⁹ For **xt* > *-w*- or *-y*- see SKJÆRVØ 1989b: 402.

³⁰ GRJUNBERG/ÉDEL’MAN 1987: 30f. According to SKJÆRVØ, 1989: 377, table I and 1989: 378, in Parachi **xt* becomes *y* and **ft* becomes *w*, whereas both result in *w* or become zero in Ormuri.

³¹ MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 38, 279 transcribes *dut* and *pharāt*. **fra*- would yield *rh*- (e.g. **fra-vaz*- > *rhāz*- MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 38).

³² MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 333 transcribed as *dūa*, *duka* and *hō*, *wō*.

³³ This has been explained as a reversal, see LIVŠIČ/HROMOV 1981: 395, 402; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650.

³⁴ E.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650. Several of these languages do not have a phoneme *θ*, though, e.g. Yaghnobi, Sanglechi, Ishkashmi, Munji, Yidgha, Pashto, Ormuri, and Parachi. A. KORN has kindly drawn my attention to the development in Balochi, where (in contrast to the coalescence of **θ* and **h* > *h* common in West Iranian) **θ* becomes *t*, cf. KORN 2005: 81.

³⁵ E.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650.

³⁶ EMMERICK 1989: 213. Some scholars believe that the Iranian fricatives *f*, *θ*, and *x* reverted to aspirate stops through the influence of Indian languages like Sanskrit and Prakrit, e.g. EMMERICK 1989: 209; EMMERICK/PULLEYBLANK 1993.

³⁷ EMMERICK 1989: 214.

³⁸ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 259. The only word which seems to have preserved *θ* is *τθαο* “thus, so”.

³⁹ GRJUNBERG 1987: 177.

⁴⁰ HROMOV 1987: 655, 659.

⁴¹ ISAEV 1987: 566.

⁴² GRJUNBERG/ÉDEL’MAN 1987: 35.

⁴³ MORGENSTIERNE 1938: 305. For the derivation from **θav*- see STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999: 374.

burn”.⁴⁴ In Ormuri *θ* develops into *y*, as in *rāy* “way” < **rāθa*-.⁴⁵ The development in Parachi is not clear.⁴⁶

Table 6. Old Iranian **θ*: **maiθa*- “day”, etc.

Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Orm.	Pashto	Oss.
<i>met, mes</i>	<i>mēθ, mīθ</i>	<i>maθ</i>	<i>miθ</i>	<i>mi, may</i> , but <i>sav-</i> < <i>*θav-</i> ; Sang. <i>mēi</i>	<i>mīč</i>	<i>θaw-</i> “burn” < <i>*θav-</i>	<i>rāy</i> < <i>*rāθa-</i> “way”	<i>yele</i> < <i>*gaiθyā-</i> “flocks”	<i>fætæn</i> “broad” < <i>*paθana-</i>
Sogdian		Chor.		Bactr.		Khot.			
<i>myθ, myδ</i>		<i>myθ</i>		𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀-		<i>ggāha-</i>			

2.5 The development of Old Iranian **θr-*

2.5.1 Word-initial position

Old Iranian **θr* shows quite divergent developments in the East Iranian languages, both initially and internally. In Sogdian, and partly also in Chorasmian and Parachi, **θr* becomes *š*. In Yazghulami **θr* is reduced to *c*.⁴⁷ In initial position the cluster is preveved as *tr-* in Wakhi, becomes *dr-* in Khotanese and Pashto, and *tir-* or *sar-* in Yaghnobi.⁴⁸ In Munji it becomes *šir-*.⁴⁹ The development in Bactrian, the Shughni group, and Sarikoli can be compared. In Bactrian it becomes *har-*; in the languages of the Shughni group and in Sarikoli it results in *ar-*.⁵⁰ The Bactrian outcome of **θr* matches the general development of **θ* (cf. Section 2.4), whereas in the Shughni group it is divergent.

Table 7. Development of Old Iranian initial **θr-*: **θraījah* “three”.

Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Pashto	Par.	Oss.
<i>tiray, saray</i>	<i>aray</i>	<i>aroy</i>	<i>cūy</i>	<i>rūy</i>	<i>širay;</i> Yidgha <i>šuroy</i>	<i>tru(y)</i>	<i>dre</i>	<i>ši;</i> Orm. <i>šo</i>	<i>ærtæ</i>
Bactr.				Khot.		Sogd.		Chor.	
𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀 [harei]				<i>drai</i>		<i>šy</i> [šē/i]		<i>šy</i>	

2.5.2 Word-internal position

In Khotanese, Bactrian, and Chorasmian, **-θr-* is reduced to *-r-*.⁵¹ Among the Modern East Iranian languages, a development to *-r-* can be found in Pashto and in Munji. In the Shughni group and Sarikoli we have *-c* like in Yazghulami. In Sogdian

⁴⁴ MORGENSTIERNE 1938: 305, 313. In the word for “day”, *mi, may*, it seems to have developed to *y*, but this has been explained as an “elision” of **θ* by MORGENSTIERNE, who traces the word back to **māθya-*.

⁴⁵ EFIMOV 1991: 271. MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 405 derives the word from **raiθya-*.

⁴⁶ MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 44 transcribes *thī-*; he writes that **θ* may result in an aspirated stop, like in *t ī-* “to be burning” (see also STEBLIN-KAMENSKII 1999: 374). EFIMOV 1997: 459, 463 gives examples of intervocalic spirants developing into *h*.

⁴⁷ EDEL’MAN 1987b: 369.

⁴⁸ SKJÆRVØ 1989a: 375 and 377, table I.

⁴⁹ GRJUNBERG 1987: 177.

⁵⁰ SKJÆRVØ 1989a: 376.

⁵¹ The development from **-θr-* to *-r-* via **-hr-* may be documented in Bactrian in 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀 “family” < **gauθra-ka-* (see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 207) and 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀 “relatives” (LEE/SIMS-WILLIAMS 2003: 170f.), otherwise *-γωρο*. The spelling *-υρ-* is also once attested in a pseudo-historical writing, in the word 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀 “belief” (LEE/SIMS-WILLIAMS 2003: 170), otherwise 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀 (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 253).

and Parachi the internal **-θr-* becomes *-š-* as in initial position. In Wakhi the development is more conservative: the cluster is preserved as *-tr-* as in initial position.⁵² In Ossetic it becomes *-rt-*.⁵³

In Yaghnobi there are only very few examples of the development of Old Iranian **-θr-*.⁵⁴ GEIGER postulated that Old Iranian **-θr-* in internal position developed into *-l(l)-* in Yaghnobi.⁵⁵ He mentioned *ōl* “fire” and *pula* “son” as examples of this development. This was doubted by LIVSHITZ who writes that *ōl* is only used in combination with the verb *xasš* in *ōlxaš* “to catch fire, to begin to burn”, whereas the common word for fire, *ōlōw*, is borrowed from Tajik.⁵⁶ He points out that the common word for “son” in Yaghnobi is *žūta*, and *pul(l)a* is mainly used for “infant, child” in general. Therefore he concludes that it can be taken as a nursery word. Although these semantic considerations hardly seem convincing, since a word for “child” might as well have the meaning “son”, LIVSHITZ puts forward another, much stronger argument. He remarks that **-δr-* develops into *-rδ-* in Yaghnobi, as in *mirδa* “beads” from **mudraka-* (as opposed to Sogdian *mwž'kk*), and concludes that **-θr-* in Yaghnobi may be expected to yield **-rt-* or *-rs-*. As an example to stress the plausibility of this argument one may mention Yaghnobi *dirot*, *diros* “sickle”, which can be traced back to **dāθra-*, cf. Ishkashmi *dur*, Bartangi and Roshorvi *δōc*, Yazghulami *δac*, Wakhi *δytr*, *δətr*, Pashto *lor*, etc.⁵⁷ It therefore seems reasonable to follow LIVSHITZ' view that **-θr-* might not have given *-l(l)-* as previously assumed.

Table 8. Development of Old Iranian word-internal <i>*-θr-</i> : <i>*puθra-</i> “son”.									
Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Pashto	Par.	Oss.
<i>pulla</i> or <i>dirot</i> , <i>diros</i>	<i>puc</i>	<i>pyc</i> , <i>pūc</i>	<i>poc</i>	– <i>usər</i> “ashes”; Sangl. <i>wuter</i>	<i>pūr</i>	<i>pətr</i>	– <i>bur</i> < <i>*apuθrah</i> “sonless”; or “fire”	<i>poš</i> ; Orm. <i>*meš</i> ⁵⁸ “sun”	<i>fyrt</i>
			Khot.	Bactr.		Chor.		Sogd.	
			<i>pūra-</i>	<i>πορο</i> [pur]		<i>pr</i>		<i>-pšyy</i>	

3. Morphological characteristics

3.1 Nouns: Plural suffixes

It has been mentioned that Sogdian and Yaghnobi share the same plural suffixes, *-t* in the direct case and *-ti* in the oblique.⁵⁹ These are the plural suffixes of the so-called heavy stems in Sogdian. Plural suffixes in *-t* are also found in Ossetic and in Yazghulami, which have *-tæ* and *-aθ*. Moreover, the Sogdian plural suffix *-yšt*, which is only found with animate nouns, has a parallel in Wakhi, where it is the normal plural suffix. The plural in *-i* in Munji was compared with the plural ending in Bactrian and Chorasmian.⁶⁰

⁵² STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999: 31.

⁵³ ISAEV 1987: 571.

⁵⁴ GEIGER 1898–1901b: 336.

⁵⁵ GEIGER 1898–1901b: 336.

⁵⁶ LIVSHITZ 1970: 262f., note 28.

⁵⁷ STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999: 168.

⁵⁸ Attested in the dialect of Kāñīgrām, see Efimov 1991: 269.

⁵⁹ SKJÆRVØ 1989a: 375.

⁶⁰ MORGENSTIERNE 1938: 122, follows Tedesco in deriving the plural ending from Old Iranian **-āh*. SOKOLOVA 1973: 160–162 derives the ending from the pronominal flexion. See also GRJUNBERG 1987: 181f.

The plural in Pashto is more complex and shows a wide range of variation which also may involve ablaut.⁶¹ The plural suffix in Parachi is *-ān*.⁶² The plural *-i*, which is used for non-animates in Ormuri is traced back to **-aiāh*.⁶³ The etymology of the plural ending used for animates, *-in*, does not seem to be clear.⁶⁴

Table 9. Plural suffixes.⁶⁵

	Yaghn.	Shugh.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Orm.	Oss.
dir.	-t	-ēn	-aθ	-o	-i	-išt	-i	-tæ
obl.	-ti				-āf ⁶⁶	-əv		
	Sogd.			Chor.			Bactr.	
	heavy	light						
dir.	-t	-tʰ -yšt, -yʰ	only animate		-i		-αvo, -ε ⁶⁷	
obl.	-ty	-tyʰ -yšty, -n	only animate		-ʰn		-αvo	

3.2 Verbs: 3rd plural ending

A further interesting feature is the verbal ending of the third person plural. In Yaghnobi the ending is *-or*, which differs significantly from that of Sogdian. It may be compared with the 3rd plural ending of Chorasmian, which also contains an *r*, and with the 3rd plural middle ending in Khotanese.⁶⁸

Table 10. Verbal endings of the 3rd plural present.

Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Pashto	Par.	Oss.
-or	-ēn, -an	-(y)in	-an	-on	-āt	-ən	-i, -ī, -īn	-an	-uncæ / -ync
Sogd.	Chor.	Khot.	Bactr.						
-ʰnt	-ri	mid. -āre	-ivdo [-ind]						

3.3 The 2nd plural pronoun

A very interesting isogloss is found in Bactrian, the Shughni group, Yazghulami, Ishkashmi, and Sarikoli.⁶⁹ All these languages share a specific formation of the 2nd plural pronoun – different from Sogdian and Yaghnobi as well as from Munji and

⁶¹ For details see SKJÆRVØ 1989b: 389–392 and GRJUNBERG/ÈDEL’MAN 1987: 44–58.

⁶² MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 50 states that it cannot have been borrowed from Persian, as there also exists a genitive ending in *-āna*, and *-ān* also occurs with inanimate nouns; for more details, see EFIMOV 1997: 478ff.

⁶³ EFIMOV 1991: 281. It is compared with Pashto *-i* by MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 342, who transcribes it as *-ī*.

⁶⁴ EFIMOV 1991: 281 explains it as going back to the Old Iranian genitive ending of the *i*-stems, **-inām*.

⁶⁵ In Khotanese the categories of noun inflection have been preserved and can more readily be compared with Old Iranian languages than with the other Middle or Modern East Iranian languages. They are therefore not listed here. For an overview see EMMERICK 1989: 216–219.

⁶⁶ Cf. Rošorvī *-īf*, Sarikoli oblique plural *-ef*, PAYNE 1989b: 428.

⁶⁷ *-ε* is only attested in inscriptions.

⁶⁸ In Khotanese most verbs occur either with indicative or middle endings (see e.g. EMMERICK 1989: 220). The present subjunctive and optative active endings also contain *-r*: *-āru* and *-īru*.

⁶⁹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 651.

Wakhi. Before the Bactrian form became known it was thought to be a peculiarity of some Pamir languages, and was described as one of several characteristics alien to Iranian and therefore attributed to substratum influence.⁷⁰ The formation of the 2nd plural pronoun involves a form of the 2nd singular pronoun. Likewise the 2nd plural pronoun in Pashto seems to contain a form of the singular, whereas the second element of the word is not clear.⁷¹ The Chorasmian 2nd plural pronoun also seems to be composed of an element $-\beta(y)$ connected with the enclitic forms of the 2nd singular pronoun, β -, acc. $-\beta^?$.⁷²

Table 11. The 2nd plural pronoun.

Yaghn.	Shughni	Bart.	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Par.	Pashto	Oss.
<i>šumox</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tamāš</i>	<i>tamaš</i>	<i>tətox</i>	<i>təmbəx</i>	<i>mof</i> ⁷³	<i>sa(y)-iš(t)</i> , obl. <i>sav</i>	<i>wā</i> ; Orm. ⁷⁴ <i>tyos, tos</i>	<i>tāse/o</i>	<i>symax / sumax</i>
Sogd.	Bactrian					Chor.	Khot.			
(^ʔ)šm ^x (w)	τωμαχο, τομαχο, ταμαχο					<i>hβy</i>	<i>uhu</i>			

3.4 Demonstrative pronouns

Between the demonstrative systems of the East Iranian languages there are some noteworthy correspondences. Most of the Pamir languages, including Munji and Wakhi, possess a three-stem system with forms going back to Old Iranian **ima-*, **aita-*, and **aūa-*, which function as near, medial, and distal demonstratives respectively. In Yazghulami only two forms are found, *du* and *yu*. ÈDEL'MAN derives *du* from **aita-*. The etymology of *yu* is less clear. ÈDEL'MAN assumes that *yu* goes back to the Old Iranian nominative **ijam / aīam* originally representing the proximate deixis, whereas she derives the oblique form *way* from the distal demonstrative **aūa-*.⁷⁵ In addition to the phonological problems of deriving *yu* from Old Iranian **aīam*, a contamination of different demonstrative stems representing virtually contradictory levels of deixis seems highly unlikely. Forms of two stems also occur in Yaghnobi, but here the direct forms *iš* and *ax* can be derived from Old Iranian **aiša-* and **haū*. The Yaghnobi forms have been compared with the demonstratives in Sogdian, where remnants of three stems can be found.⁷⁶ They go back to **aīam / ima-*, **aiša- / aita-*, and **haū / aūa-*.⁷⁷ In contrast to Yaghnobi, where the **aiša- / aita-* forms are preserved, the forms of the medial deixis disappear in Sogdian.⁷⁸

⁷⁰ Summarized by PAYNE 1989b: 423.

⁷¹ For a summary of different etymological explanations of the second part of the pronoun see GRJUNBERG 1987: 75f.

⁷² The *h-* is not clear. One might speculate that it is connected to the 3rd singular pronoun, *hy* “he, she, it”, encl. *h*, i.e. “he and you”. A similar formation was presumed by GEIGER 1898–1901a: 217, for Pashto.

⁷³ Derived from **(yu)šmābyā*, see GRJUNBERG 1987: 189.

⁷⁴ Explained as loans from Pashto by MORGENSTIERNE 2003: 84, who transcribes *tōs*, *tyōs*.

⁷⁵ ÈDEL'MAN 1987b: 390.

⁷⁶ LIVŠIČ/HROMOV 1981: 465f.; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1994.

⁷⁷ See WENDTLAND (forthcoming). SIMS-WILLIAMS 1994: 49f. derives the oblique form from **ta-* instead of **aita-*.

⁷⁸ Only very few forms are attested: in the Ancient Letters, the Mury documents, and one Buddhist text.

Table 12. Demonstratives.

Yaghnobi	Shughni	Yazgh.	Munji	Wakhi	Par.	Pashto	Oss.
–	<i>yam</i> , obl.m. <i>mi</i> , obl.f. <i>mam</i>		<i>ma</i> , obl.m. <i>mān</i> , obl.f. <i>māy</i>	<i>yəm</i>	(<i>h</i>) <i>ē</i> ; Orm. <i>a</i>		<i>a-</i>
<i>iš</i> , <i>it</i> < OIr. <i>*aiša-</i> / <i>aita-</i>	<i>yid</i> , obl.m. <i>di</i> , obl.f. <i>dam</i>	<i>du</i> , obl.	<i>ya</i>	<i>yət</i>		<i>dā</i> , <i>daya</i>	
<i>ax</i> , <i>aw</i> < OIr. <i>*haṣ-</i> / <i>aṣa-</i>	<i>yu</i> , <i>yā</i> (f.), obl.m. <i>wi</i> , obl.f. <i>wam</i>	<i>yu</i> , obl. <i>way</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ya(w)</i>	Par. (<i>h</i>) <i>ō</i> ; Orm. <i>aḡō</i>	<i>haya</i>	<i>u-</i> / <i>ie</i> (nom.), <i>uo-</i> (obl.)
Sogdian		Bactrian			Khot.		
<i>yw</i> , obl. <i>ʔmw</i> , <i>ʔmyn</i> , <i>ʔmy(H)</i> < OIr. <i>*aijam</i> / <i>ima-</i>		<i>ειο</i> ; <i>ειμο</i>			<i>ṣā</i>		
<i>ʔšw</i> , obl. <i>ʔtw</i> < OIr. <i>*aiša-</i> / <i>aita-</i>		<i>το</i> , <i>τι</i> ; <i>ειδο</i> , <i>εδο</i>			<i>ṣātā</i>		
(<i>ʔ</i>) <i>xw</i> , obl. <i>ʔw(w)</i> , <i>ʔwyn</i> , <i>ʔwy(H)</i> < OIr. <i>*haṣ-</i> / <i>aṣa-</i>					<i>ṣārā</i>		

Bactrian *ειο* “this” may be derived from **aijam*.⁷⁹ The form *ειδο* “this” represents a less proximate deixis and is sometimes connected to the 2nd person.⁸⁰ It is traced back to **aita-* by Sims-Williams.⁸¹ He explains *ειμο* “this” as going back to **ima-* “with vocalization adapted to that of *ειο*.”⁸² So both *ειο* and *ειμο* would originate from the same demonstrative stem **aijam* / *ima-*, which seems probable because both forms represent proximal deixis. One form is said to go back to the nominative, the other to the stem forming the oblique cases. But there is no case difference between the forms. The function of the Bactrian demonstratives has not yet been studied in detail, but in the manuscripts *ειο* is mainly used anaphorically, whereas *ειμο* can be used cataphorically.⁸³ It has been presumed earlier that *ειμο* and *ειδο* might be compound forms of *ειο*, which seems quite probable considering the fact that two pronouns representing proximal deixis co-exist in Bactrian.⁸⁴ By now another demonstrative, *το*, *τι*, has been identified, which is derived from **ta-* and represents a second person deixis.⁸⁵ It is therefore probable that *ειμο* and *ειδο* are compound forms of *ειο* and *μο* and *το* respectively.

The system in Khotanese is completely different. There are newly developed forms which all go back to **aiša-* and **ta-*.⁸⁶ In Chorasmian some innovations have occurred as well. There are the forms *ny(n)* “this”, plur. *nʔw* “these”, *nʔwyr* “that”,

⁷⁹ See e.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 210.

⁸⁰ Examples SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000 (C1'), SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007 (ca5, xm5, ch6).

⁸¹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 191.

⁸² SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 191.

⁸³ Examples SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000, e.g. *ειο* in A11, C7, etc., and *ειμο* in C7, J12, etc.

⁸⁴ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b: 235.

⁸⁵ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 269.

⁸⁶ EMMERICK 1989: 220.

which is also used as a 3rd singular pronoun, *nyš-k* “this, who/which” and *nʾn* “that”. They all have a prefix *n-* which is explained as a strengthening particle.⁸⁷ These developments show that already in Middle Iranian languages many changes and innovations have occurred. Tracing back forms of modern Iranian languages, especially those that only consist of one letter, may therefore be very difficult or impossible, as seen in the next example.

The Parachi distal demonstrative (*h*)*ō* goes back to Old Iranian **hāy*.⁸⁸ The etymology of Parachi (*h*)*e* is not certain. According to MORGENSTIERNE: “Av. *aēšō*, *aētaṭ*, and prob. *aēm*, would result in **ī*; but gen. sg. m. *ahē* (Gath. *ahyā*) > *ē*?”⁸⁹ EFIMOV also believes that it goes back to the old genitive-dative.⁹⁰ Ormuri *a* is derived from **ha-*; the origin of *-fo* is unclear.⁹¹

Pashto *dā* has been explained as going back to Old Iranian **aita-*, and *ha-* in *haya* is traced back to **ha-*.⁹² Ossetic *a-* “this” is derived from Old Iranian **a-*, Iron *u-* from **aya-* or **hay*, and Digor *ie* is thought to go back to **ajam*.⁹³

3.5 Personal pronouns with prefixes

In some East Iranian languages personal pronouns occur with prefixes or suffixes.⁹⁴ Examples can be found in Bactrian, e.g. *ασαμαχο* “from/by us”,⁹⁵ in Chorasmian, e.g. *c-myk* “from me” or in Sogdian, but not in Yaghnobi. One example is Sogdian *cʾmʾ(kH)* “from me” from **hačā* “from” and the enclitic personal pronoun of the 1st singular. A comparable formation can be found in Munji, e.g. *žāmox* “from us”. Interestingly, only singular personal pronouns with prefixes are documented in Sogdian, whereas in Munji only the plural forms are prefixed. In Bactrian both singular and plural forms are attested (see Table 13 on the next page).

3.6 Demonstratives: pre- and suffixes

In Sogdian, forms of the demonstrative stems may occur with pre- and suffixes. Forms with the prefixes *c-* < **hačā* “from”, *δ-* < **hadā* “with”, *n-* < **anu-* or **ana-* “to”, and *pr-* < **upari* “on” are found.⁹⁶ There are two different suffixes, *-nt* and

⁸⁷ BOGOLJUBOV 1963b: 102.

⁸⁸ MORGENSTIERNE 1974: 68 transcribes *α*, *hα*.

⁸⁹ MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 67 (MORGENSTIERNE’s orthography).

⁹⁰ EFIMOV 1997: 439, 490.

⁹¹ MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 350. EFIMOV 1991: 292 presents a less convincing etymology, deriving *afo* from a proximal demonstrative **hva-*. He presumes a development *f* < **hv-*, which he compares to Parth. *f* < **xʾ-*, citing *farrah* < **xʾarnah-* “glory”. However, **xʾ-* does not develop into *f* in Parthian but into <wx> (maybe a devoiced *w*, see SUNDERMANN 1989: 122). Also, in the exceptional case of **xʾarnah-* the relation between **xʾ-* and *f* may be explained differently, see LUBOTSKY 1998.

⁹² GRJUNBERG 1987: 78ff. The *h-* must of course be secondary as **h* is lost in Pashto.

⁹³ WEBER 1983: 86–88.

⁹⁴ Possessive forms in some languages of northwest Iran may be prefixed as well, see e.g. LECOQ 1989: 299, 302.

⁹⁵ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 179 (Q20).

⁹⁶ LIVŠIĆ/HROMOV 1981: 461.

Table 13. Prefixed personal pronouns.

Sogdian			Bactrian	Munji		
1 st sing.	2 nd sing.			1 st plur.	2 nd plur.	
<i>δm'(k)</i> “with me”	<i>δfʷ</i> “with you”	<i>δ-</i> < * <i>hadā</i> “with”	<i>αλαμαγο</i> “with me”; <i>αλαφαγο</i> “with you”	<i>dāmox</i> “i/on us”	<i>dāmoʃ</i> “i/on you”	<i>da</i> “in” < * <i>antara</i>
<i>pr'm'k</i> “for me”	<i>pr'β'k</i> “for you”	<i>pr-</i> < * <i>upari</i> “for”		<i>nāmox</i> “(to) us”	<i>nāmoʃ</i> “(to) you”	<i>na</i> “to” < * <i>ana</i>
<i>c'm'(kH)</i> “from me”	<i>c'f'k(H)</i> “from you”	<i>c-</i> < * <i>hačā</i> “from”	<i>ασαφαγο</i> “from you” 2 nd sg.; <i>ασαμαχο</i> “from us”	<i>žāmox</i> “from us”	<i>žāmoʃ</i> “from you”	<i>ž</i> “from” < * <i>hačā</i>
<i>r'm'(kH)</i> “me”	<i>r'β'k(H)</i> “you”	marks the direct def. object, cf. prep. <i>ʔt(w)</i> “to”	<i>αβοφαγο</i> , 2 nd sg.; <i>αβομαχο</i> “us” dir. object	<i>vāmox</i> “us”	<i>vāmoʃ</i> “you”	marks the direct def. object, < * <i>upa-</i> , * <i>apa-</i>

-ʔyδ, e.g. *cywʔnt* “from that” and *cyw(ʔ)yδ* “from that”. They occur both in attributive and predicative position. The suffix -ʔnt presumably goes back to **antara*-.⁹⁷ The origin of -ʔyδ is not clear. It has been compared with Roshani -*aθ*, -*θ*.⁹⁸

In Shughni, morphologically similar formations occur, which function as local adverbs, like e.g. *azamand* “from there”, with *az-* < **hačā* “from”, a form of the demonstrative, and -*and* (< **antara-*, see above), and *azamard* “from there” with a suffix -*ard*,⁹⁹ which has been derived from **arda-* “side”.¹⁰⁰ The suffixes have different functions. Forms with -*and* are used to mark definite location, whereas those with -*ard* mark indefinite location.¹⁰¹

Table 14. Demonstratives with pre- and suffixes.

		Sogdian			Shughni		
dist.	<i>c-</i>	<i>cywʔnt</i>	<i>cyw(ʔ)yδ</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>azamand</i>	<i>azam</i>	<i>azamard</i>
med.			<i>cytyδ</i>		<i>azedand</i>	<i>azed</i>	<i>azedard</i>
prox.	“from”	<i>cymʔnt</i>	<i>cym(ʔ)yδ</i>	“from”	<i>azūdand</i>	<i>azūd</i>	<i>azūdard</i>
dist.	<i>δ-</i>	<i>δywʔnt</i>	<i>δywʔyδ</i>	<i>tar</i>	<i>taramand</i>	<i>taram</i>	<i>taramard</i>
med.					<i>taredand</i>	<i>tared</i>	<i>taredard</i>
prox.	“with”	<i>δymʔnt</i>	<i>δymʔyδ</i>	“to”	<i>tarūdand</i>	<i>tarūd</i>	<i>tarūdard</i>
dist.	<i>n-</i>	<i>nywʔnt</i>	<i>nywʔyδ</i>				
med.			<i>nytyδ</i>				
prox.	“to”		<i>nymyδ</i>				
dist.	<i>pr-</i>	<i>prywynd</i>	<i>prʔywʔyδ</i>				
med.			<i>prytyδ</i>				
prox.	“on”	<i>prymnd</i>	<i>prymyδ</i>				

⁹⁷ LIVŠIĆ/HROMOV 1981: 466.

⁹⁸ BOGOLJUBOV 1963a: 9, note 2.

⁹⁹ Forms with -*m-*, which usually represent the proximal deixis, are used for distal deixis here, whereas the forms containing the distal demonstrative stem are used for proximal deixis. This also occurs in other languages of the Shughni group, e.g. in Xufi. This “switch” in deixis has not yet been explained.

¹⁰⁰ EDEL’MAN 1987a: 339f.

¹⁰¹ KARAMŠOEV 1988: 56f.

3.7 Local adverbs

In Sogdian the suffix *-rδ* also occurs in local adverbs. As in Shughni (see Section 3.6), these adverbs mark indefinite location.¹⁰² Among the Modern East Iranian languages forms with *-ard* are found in Xufi, a language closely related to Shughni: *amard*, *adard*, *udard*.¹⁰³ In Ossetic the local adverbs *ardæm* “here” and *ūrðæm* “there” (with *ærd-* “side”) can be compared.¹⁰⁴ Similar morphological formations can be found in Sogdian and Bactrian. It has so far not been investigated whether they also have comparable functions in Bactrian.

Table 15. Local adverbs.

Sogdian					Bactrian			Xufi
indef.	def.	known	unknown					
<i>mrδ</i>	<i>mδ</i>	<i>mδy</i>	<i>mδ'yδ</i>	“here” prox.	μαρο	μαλο	μαληλο	<i>amard</i> “there”
<i>trδ</i>		<i>tδy</i>	<i>tδ'yδ</i>	“there” med.			ταληλο	<i>adard</i> “there”
<i>ʷwrδ</i>	<i>ʷwδ</i>	<i>wδy</i>	<i>wδyδ</i>	“there” dist.	οαρο	οαλο		<i>udard</i> “here”

4. Conclusion

The East Iranian languages are linguistically extremely diverse. No phonological or morphological characteristics can be found which are shared by all of them. The isoglosses discussed in this paper can be summarized as shown in Table 16 on the next page.

Exclusive features by which the Pamir languages can be distinguished from all other East Iranian languages cannot be found either. Some traits, like the voicing of **xt* and **ft*, or the development of **b-*, **d-*, **g-* to fricatives, are shared by the majority of the other East Iranian languages.

Conversely, the depalatalization of Old Iranian **č-* is found in many East Iranian languages but is not shared by Yazghulami, Munji, or Parachi.

The development of a *t*-plural in Yaghnobi and Ossetic, which was seen as a characteristic of a Northern branch (see Section 1) of the East Iranian languages by Oranskij, can also be found in Yazghulami. The preservation of the cluster **θr*, which he also mentions as a trait common to Yaghnobi (*tVr/sVr*) and Ossetic (*rt*), is also shared by Wakhi (*tr*) and partly by Sanglechi (*-tVr*) and Ishkashmi (*-sVr*).¹⁰⁵

The formation of a 2nd person plural pronoun in combination with a form of the 2nd singular is shared by the Shughni group, Sarikoli, Yazghulami, and Ishkashmi, but not by Munji or Wakhi, whereas in Pashto or Chorasmian similar constructions can be found.

Some traits of certain Pamir languages, like the prefixing of personal pronouns in Munji, the formation of demonstratives with pre- and suffixes in Shughni, or the use

¹⁰² WENDTLAND 2006.

¹⁰³ SOKOLOVA 1959: 112, 116, 267.

¹⁰⁴ BOGOLJUBOV 1963a: 4.

¹⁰⁵ ORANSKIJ 1979b: 179f.

of local adverbs in Xufi, have parallels in Sogdian or Bactrian. The Wakhi plural in *-išt* is also attested in Sogdian.

The distribution of the characteristics discussed in this article supports the interpretation of the Pamir languages as a *sprachbund*, and speaks against a distinction between a Northern and a Southern branch of the East Iranian languages.

Table 16. Isoglosses in East Iranian languages (selection).

	shared by	no change (shared archaism)	different development
*č- > ts-, s-	Shughni, Sarikoli, Ishkashmi, Yidgha, Wakhi; Ormuri, Pashto, Ossetic; Bactrian, Chorasmian, Khotanese	Yazghulami, Munji, Yaghnobi; Parachi; Sogdian	
*b-, d-, g- > fricatives	Shughni, Sarikoli, Yazghulami, Wakhi; Sogdian, Chorasmian	Parachi, Ormuri, Ossetic; Khotanese g-	further development: Yaghnobi, Ishkashmi d-; Munji, Yidgha, Pashto, Bactrian, Sogdian dial. l
*xt voiced	Yazghulami, Ishkashmi, Munji, Wakhi; Ossetic; Sogdian, Chorasmian, Bactrian	Yaghnobi	further simplified: Parachi, Ormuri; Shughni, Sarikoli; Khotanese, Pashto
*ft voiced	Shughni, Sarikoli, Yazghulami, Ishkashmi, Munji, Yaghnobi (E dial.); Ossetic; Sogdian, Chorasmian, Bactrian	Yaghnobi (W dial.)	further simplified: Wakhi, Parachi, Ormuri; Pashto; Khotanese
*θ preserved		Shughni, Sarikoli, Yazghulami, Wakhi; Sogdian, Chorasmian	Ishkashmi, Ormuri y; Yaghnobi, Ishkashmi s, Munji ʃ, Yaghnobi, Ossetic t; Pashto l; Bactrian, Khotanese h
*θr- > š-, c-	Yazghulami c-, Parachi, Ormuri, Sogdian, Chorasmian š-	Wakhi, Yaghnobi; Ossetic	Shughni, Sarikoli, Bactrian (h)ar-; Pashto, Khotanese dr-
*-θr- > š-, c-	Shughni, Sarikoli, Yazghulami c, Parachi, Ormuri, Sogd. š-	Ishkashmi, Yaghnobi, Wakhi; Ossetic	further simplified: Munji; Pashto; Khotanese, Bactrian, Chorasmian
plural suffixes	t-plural: (Yazghulami,) Yaghnobi, Ossetic; Sogdian; -išt: Wakhi; Sogdian		plural in -i (-e): Munji, Ormuri, Bactrian, Chorasmian; obl. pl. in -f/-v: Roshorvi (Shughni group), Sarikoli, Munji, Wakhi
3 rd plural			Munji; Ossetic "medial" ending: Yaghnobi, Chorasmian
2 nd plural pronoun combination with 2 nd sg.	Shughni, Sarikoli, Yazghulami, Ishkashmi; Pashto; Chorasmian	Yaghnobi; Ossetic; Sogdian	Munji, Wakhi; Parachi; Khotanese
demonstratives from same stems	Shughni, Yazghulami, Munji, Wakhi, Yaghnobi; Sogdian		Parachi, Ormuri, Pashto, Ossetic; Khotanese
prefixed pers. pron.	Munji; Sogdian, Bactrian		
demonstratives with pre- and suffixes	Shughni; Sogdian		
local adverbs with suffix	Xufi (Shughni group); Sogdian, Bactrian		

Table 17. Genetic relations of the Pamir languages and the other East Iranian languages.

Shughni-Yazghulami group					Ishkashmi	Munji
Shughni group				Yazghulami		
Shughni	Roshani	Bartangi	Sarikoli		Yazghulami	Zebaki
Badzh.	Xufi	Roshorvi		Sanglechi		
Wakhi	Yagnobi	Ossetic	Pashto	Parachi	Omuri	

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